ISSN 0160-2764

MESTER

Special Issue III

XXXXVII

2018

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

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Mester (ISSN 0160-2764) is the graduate student journal of the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, University of California, Los Angeles. It is published annually with the generous assistance of the UCLA Department of Spanish and Portuguese, University of California, Los Angeles. It is published annually with the generous assistance of the UCLA Department of Spanish and Portuguese, the Del Amo Foundation, and the UCLA Graduate Association.

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Annual Subscription rate is $20.00 for institutions/individuals and $10.00 for students. Please add $5.00 for subscriptions outside the U.S., Canada and Mexico. Please make checks payable to "UC Regents".
Mester is indexed in the MLA International Bibliography and is listed in the **ISI Web of Science.**
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CONTENTS

Volume 47, Special Issue 3, 2018 Mester

Colonial System and upcoming school events
Anne Martin Klinovskaya - 5

The Problem of structural ambiguity in psycholinguistics
Leyla Musa Khanbutayeva – 36

Influence of the ability of to live
Mryiam Falles, H. - 51

Characterization of the status structure of society
Rodriquez - Mondonedo, M. - 57

Teacher/police: how inner-city students perceive the connection between the education system and the criminal justice system
Cara McClellan – 73

Constructing public preschool: women, poverty, politics, and the development of public preschool in the United States
Helen Mary Sirinovskaya – 94

Social psychological situation and stratification of the modern society in Iran Islamic republic on the context of the international human rights
Richard Morgan H. – 114

Providers perspectives on the role of race in maternal health
Peter Stamatov – 129

Surviving the forest: ethnography of new havens tent city
Andrew Udelsman - 152

Strategic aspects of venture management.
Rahim Sadygov - 169

Colonial System and upcoming school events

Anne Martin Klinovskaya

Abstract *The main street of Midcoast is dotted with small storefronts and large old colonial houses. The speed limit is only 25mph, and one of the local cops is generally hanging out on a street corner, waiting to ticket anyone who might roll through the cross walks. Large SUVs and station wagons fill the parking spots, and on Sunday the streets are packed with traffic from the three churches in the few blocks. Where the main street branches down the hill, the campus of Midcoast Academy sits to the right. This private school has existed for over a hundred years, and the extensive campus stretches back behind the imposing front brick building. A mile up the coast on Rt. 1, past large homes with views of the ocean, the driveway for the recently renovated public high school is on the left. This modern looking building is brand new and surrounded by well-kept athletic fields that are frequented with children playing soccer and lacrosse. Mothers wait in idling cars for practices to end and chat about their children's busy schedules and upcoming school events.*

Keywords: *Colonial system, upcoming schools, events*

Received *12.05.2018*
Accepted *11.08.2018*

DOI *10:116.MES/45-86.101*

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Introduction

I chose this town as a case study to evaluate public and private schools. I was interested in the factors that drove the choice between these two options for parents. I wanted to understand some of the complex dynamics of choice in a population of parents who highly valued education. The privatization of education is a hotly debated topic in the United States, as is school choice. These issues are generally discussed in the context of the class or racial divides that

exist between those who have the resources to demand better, and those families who settle for the educational option available to them. However, Midcoast provides an interesting case study because of the population demographic. Most Midcoast families have the economic resources to afford private school. Religion is not a dividing factor, and both the public and private school are centrally located so transportation is not an issue. A study in Midcoast can ignore these reasons that traditionally dominate school choice and examine some of the ideological and social issues that guide the decision. Academics, teachers, athletics, college, and peer groups are a few of the concerns most parents have regarding their children's school experience. Parents in Midcoast are informed and integrated into their children's education, and academic learning is a clear priority. However, I discovered that satisfaction with a school or a parent's desire to choose a new learning environment is governed by many forces outside of the classroom. The question of school choice takes on new meaning in a small town because of the intricate social networks and the importance of inclusion in the community.

Literature review

Many diverse factors are involved in evaluating parent choice, and accumulating a common body of literature on the topic is a challenge. Several explanations and structures are brought together to evaluate the situation in Midcoast. First, parents' value of academic success and the importance of learning cannot be ignored. It is also necessary to evaluate why this population of middle and upper class parents might have different expectations than other lower class groups, and how increased economic support in a community changes the nature of school choice for families there. For individual families, school choice is mediated by many factors from peer groups to student motivation. Finally, it is impossible to discuss schooling in Midcoast without examining the effect of a small town and tight social network on parents' interactions with each other and the local schools.

The relationship of a school and its community can be studied on many levels, and the demographics of the community are a huge influence on the interactions that take place. There is a great deal of research regarding schools that struggle because they deal with limited resources and community problems, but much less information regarding affluent communities or successful schools. It is often easier to analyze problems than it is to explain successes, and it is hard to generalize most research about public schools in the United States to include schools that have a large economic base and successful student body. However, the town of Midcoast provides an interesting case to examine the entitlement of upper-class families (Lareau 1987) as well as the various social forces that are navigated when a parent makes the decision to choose between a public and private school.

Annette Lareau (1987) provides the most comprehensive study about how parents in communities like Midcoast interact with their children's schools. She finds that significant cultural factors related to class strongly influence how families navigate their interactions with schools, and that parents who are educated and economically stable are much more comfortable making demands or intervening on behalf of their children. Parents expect to engage in an equal partnership with the school and integrate home and school life in order to promote their children's academic success. Parents know each other outside of class and interact both at formal school events and outside the classroom. She finds that this level of involvement can increase to the point where it is unhelpful, due to parents being over-demanding of teachers or feeling that they can override a school's decisions. However, parents are generally informed and active and schools are responsive partners to promote high academic achievement. The parents Lareau describes tend to be the ones who seek out the best educational options for their children, which directs many toward private schools.

Goldring and Shapira (1993) look at school choice in the context of social class, identifying deciding factors for middle and upper class parents. While they do not isolate any of the factors that motivate parents' decisions to choose, they conclude that satisfaction is connected to the socio-economic status of parents. Higher SES parents are highly educated and are increasingly satisfied with the school they choose because of the empowerment they feel. When they feel that they are partners in the decision-making and the school is in compliance with their interests, parents are the happiest with their children's educational experience at that school. Goldring and Shapira (1993) join parent satisfaction with school choice. Parents are not driven to exercise their right to choose unless they are dissatisfied with their status quo. When their partnership in the school fails, parents are motivated to look for other options.

Gemello and Osman (1984) try to identify the factors that push parents to demand private school, but the findings of their study also assume an inherent difference in public and private schools. This study reaffirms the limited applicability of many educational studies to the Midcoast community. The authors find that private school attendance is directly related to economic limitations, and that higher incomes directly correlate with higher attendance at private high schools. They also find that as public school funding improves, private school attendance decreases. A private school is selected when the family prefers more resources than are available at the public school or when the income level of the family creates a higher "taste" for education. The small size and homogeneity of income levels in the Midcoast community makes this difference in "taste" impossible, because most parents are professionals and well-educated themselves. The private school is also not a choice only because of the resources it offers

due to the fact that Midcoast High School is able to offer a similar education to Midcoast Academy. No parents claimed that MHS was a bad school or that the public experience in the town was significantly inferior to the private option. While Gemello and Osman's findings can easily be generalized to school districts with under funded public schools, which unfortunately is a larger segment of the American education districts, the unique nature and funding of the Midcoast community requires a different framework to explain the decisions to send a child to public or private schools.

So, in the rare community where public school funding is high, how do we explain the demand for private education? Coleman and Hoffer (1987) offer a structure of social capital that helps understand the exclusionary forces of a community that could push a family to a private school. The authors claim that students need social connections with their peers, their families, and their communities in order to be successful in a school. Within this framework, private schools are designed to specifically meet these social needs in order to help these social connections be established. In Midcoast, many of these needs are also met in the public school, but the relationship between schools, families, and communities that Coleman and Hoffer explore points us toward the non-academic factors that parents value when selecting schools regardless of the type.

Some sociologists believe that public and private schools represent inherently different philosophies of education. J.B. Rotter's classic theory of "locus of control" provides an interesting framework to examine key differences in public and private school families. This theory generally applies to students themselves, but also offers another way to explain parents' expectations of schools. Rotter's model separates the kinds of forces that dictate behavior into internal and external categories. Internal control means that an individual feels that he or she has direct control over an outcome; in schools students would feel like it was their own task to work hard and take initiative to get better grades. External control means that other things determine the outcome, so a student would place the blame on teachers, environment, or any factor outside of his or her individual self. Bartel (1971) discusses the "locus of control" of students of different classes, finding that middle-class students were more self-aware and proactive about their role in school than their lower-class counterparts. Wigfield, Eccles, and Rodriguez (1998) look at student motivation in a broader sense; examining the many factors such as peers and school environment. They believe that the categories internal and external are too basic to fully understand the many complex motivating factors.

Outside of families and individual relationships, the small size of the town of Midcoast is a defining factor in school choice. Schmuck and Schmuck (1990) look at the performance of a school through the eyes of the community in which it is lo-

cated, specifically focusing on high schools in small towns. Their population is more rural and less affluent than the one examined in this study, but the role of the high school in the town dynamic is very similar. The authors discuss the level of democratic participation in small town high schools, finding that despite the high levels of social integration, there is an absence of collaboration and actual participation in the schools. Midcoast would be seen as a success in their model because the school has the resources to promote the kind of integration they suggest and avoids the problems they find in many small towns. Despite these differences the Schmuck study highlights the importance of the public high school in the social and community life of a small town, acting as a physical and symbolic gathering point for members of a community.

Salganik and Karweit (1982) reinforce this value of community in a school, although they believe that public schools struggle because of a lack of community support. They claim that parents will not support schools until there is a general ideology of education that is demonstrated, and claim that public schools in the United States lack this common philosophy. Their structure ignores the ability of small towns to have common ideals that are exemplified in public schools, and the support of the public school in Midcoast disproves their claims. However, their findings do highlight the importance of community support and social acceptance of a school. These studeies provide frameworks to uncover, separate, and examine the many factors that parents consider when choosing public or private schools.

Methods:

I conducted my study in Midcoast, a small coastal town in New England. Midcoast is a town of about 8,500 residents in the most populated county of the state, about a half hour drive from a metropolitan area. This location gives Midcoast the community feel of a small town, but means that the residents are generally commuters to the city. Midcoast attracts a very affluent population, and the average income and price of property has been steadily increasing. In the years from 1990-2000, the population grew about 6%. Some residents are concerned because the average age of the population (currently at 41.6) has also been rising due to the number of affluent retirees who are moving into the community and purchasing property. However, this has not yet negatively affected the number of children in schools or the economy of the town. The average family income in 1999 was $73,234, and three-quarters of property is single-family owned homes averaging $242,250 (Appendix A).

Education is valued highly in the community and it is supported through the large tax contributions from residents to the schools. Midcoast residents have a strong educational background:

94.6% of adults graduated from high school while 57.3% held Bachelors Degrees or higher. Midcoast schools have consistently been ranked near the top in the state for both utilized resources and student performance. The per pupil cost in 2000 was $7,280, almost $2,000 above the state average. There are four public schools in the town, one elementary school that serves grades K-1, another elementary school that serves grades 2-4, a middle school for grades 5-8, and a high school for grades 9-12. In 2003, a $20.5 million building renovation program was completed in all the schools, which built a new middle school and renovated the remaining buildings. Not only do the schools have the physical space to provide an excellent learning environment, but the high school also boasts only a .83% drop-out rate and a 90% college matriculation rate. There is an expectation of excellence and the resources to promote success in the public schools.

I selected Midcoast for my study because it also has an excellent private school that offers instruction in grades 6-12. Midcoast Academy is located in the heart of downtown and has been there since 1814. 300 students are enrolled at MA and roughly 30% receive need- based financial aid to offset the $17,280 yearly tuition. All students are day students and come from 43 communities in the state, some commuting over an hour to be there. Despite this geographic diversity, 54 students and 45 families at MA live in the town of Midcoast. This 18% is a significant portion of the population. There is a 25-acre campus with academic and athletic buildings, and the school recently started construction on a new science center. MA offers a similar curriculum to MHS, although the classes are smaller and there is an individualized student advising system. There is also an intense focus on college applications, and generally every MA graduate goes to college. All students at the school are required to play a sport and participate in at least one artistic activity; so all students are active in extra-curriculars. This is not hugely different from the public high school, which without a requirement still has 80% of its students involved in after-school activities. There is some difference in these activities offered; MA is known for a strong hockey program while MHS has a better track team. Athletics can be a minor influence in the decision process, but equal opportunities are provided at each school in most extra-curricular activities.

These similarities between the schools led me to the community of Midcoast because I believed that I could look at the decision between public and private schools without having the basic factor of superior education be an influence. The schools have different teaching philosophies, but the private school does not produce more students with high test scores or better college admittance rates. Midcoast Academy is known for teaching a traditional curriculum with standard subjects and pedagogical styles. MHS has been much more exploratory with the curriculum, offering team teaching and an integrated curriculum.

Some of these projects have been successful and have been permanently implemented; others have been eliminated after a year or two. These philosophies of teaching offer a contrast to each other but do not set one school as clearly better option for learning. Parents feel that one style might be better suited for their individual child, but there is not a majority sentiment in the community that one school is better. This balance allowed me to ask questions about the other individual and social factors that influence parents' decisions.

I interviewed twelve parents for this study. Eight of the interviews I conducted with one parent in a family, one I conducted with both parents together, and two I conducted with each parent from the same family separately. I spoke with members of ten different families, but conducted eleven separate interviews. Four families had children in the public school, four had children in the private school, and two had children in each. I traveled to the homes of each family for six of the interviews and then did the remaining five over the phone due to travel restraints. Most of the interviews lasted about an hour in length and I recorded the sessions by hand and on tape. I found my first three families through a friend who had attended MA himself. He put me in touch with these contacts and then I used the snowball method to make connections with other families in the community. All of my interviews were conducted in a two-month period.

All of the families I interviewed were two-parent homes with at least one child who was enrolled in or had gone through the Midcoast school system. While I never asked about income levels, the appearance and location of each home and the occupation of the parents led me to assume that all families ranged from comfortably middle- class to very well off. All parents who worked held professional level positions. A few of the families enrolled in MA mentioned receiving some level of financial aid, but no family ever cited economic limitations as a reason for not exploring a private school option for their child. All the families were white, but in 2004 the town population was 98.5% white. While my survey population is homogeneous, I believe it is an accurate representation of the total racial composition of the town.

Findings:

"You want to know about my kids' educations and how we picked schools? Well, have you got all day?"

–Mrs. Lawson, mother MHS and MA students.

The decision to choose between a public and private school is one that is mediated by many factors. Each child has individual needs, different schools offers specific resources, and every community shapes a family's experience in the school system. In talking to parents, there were hundreds of circumstances that motivated their choice, but as my interviews progressed I began to see a distinctive organization of these reasons. Individual needs and social forces mediate the choice be-

tween public and private schools in a small homogeneous community where religion and economic limitations are not factors. Scholars such as Annette Lareau (1987) have pointed to the level of individualization that middle and upper class parents demand for their children, and Midcoast is no exception. Parents in this socioeconomic class are integrated in their children's educations and demand specialized attention and resources from their school. If these needs are not being met, the parents will explore options to place their child in an alternative learning environment.

Social networks are also important in the small, tight-knit communities of small towns. The residents of Midcoast were all extremely sensitive to feelings of social network and acceptance, whether they were referencing their child's peer group or the connection they felt with other parents and residents. Social interactions for children and parents both focus on the schools, and families need to feel included in social groups, in decision-making processes, and in the educational process a child undergoes. The public schools, especially the high school, also serve as a unifying physical and social space for residents of a small town. Through sports, activities, and opportunities for parent involvement, high schools help residents feel a sense of identity with their town. When any of these connections are not established, families are driven to look elsewhere. The private school in Midcoast caters to this need by repeatedly emphasizing the importance of various levels of community to its students and their families.

I found that community connections for families have many dimensions, ranging from the peer networks between children to the integration of a family in the town social scene. These relationships might seem disconnected from school choice, but all revolve around the school community in Midcoast and are central to parents' choice between the public and private school. At the most basic level, the importance of students being socially included in the peer group of their school is extremely important to parents when they evaluate their happiness with their child's educational experience. If a child does not make friends or has problems with other students that are not resolved, some parents will simply find a new school environment for the student to alleviate the social pressures and start over. Parents also value the types of friends their children have and have expectations for the level and type of peer pressure their child experiences. Not only do parents want their children to have friends who are kind and morally conscious, but they want them to be around other children who have appropriate goals and aspirations. Families at the public and private school had very different ideas about the role of a child's peer group, and the source of a child's motivation differed in the two school communities. Public and private school parents had very different ideas about what influences would best motivate their child. Parents at

each school had different expectations for who should push their child and how involved they should be in their child's academic education.

The relationship between the parent and the school is also an extremely important one, and all parents expected a high level of access. All stated that they needed to feel included in the decision making process at the school and spoke of the importance of accessibility and responsiveness on the part of teachers and the administration. Finally, parents used the school community to connect with the larger community. Parents stated that they needed to feel included in the school community and parent social network through volunteering or attending school events. Several who had older children out of school felt that they were no longer a part of the town community and their personal social circles had shrunk because they were no longer connected to the school system.

These categories encompass the most important dimensions of connection and inclusion that parents need in a school community in a small town like Midcoast. Despite my separation of these levels of community, they are all closely interconnected. When a relationship failed at one level, for example if a child was having a hard time making friends at school, relationships at other levels would suffer as well. The child's parents might have problems with a teacher because of it, or interpersonal relationships between families would be strained. Because of the close level of integration in a town of this size, inclusion is important and social networks are far reaching. Any level of conflict in the community can lead to social isolation. When this breakdown of community occurs, parents look to remove their children and themselves from the environment that is no longer inclusive and in Midcoast, most turn to the local private school, which works particularly hard to market a strong school community. Most families were willing to give public education a chance, and it was clear that poor academic opportunities were not the reason that most parents left the public schools in Midcoast. Parents who left did so because a relationship broke down, either with their child's social group, with the goals or individuals at the school itself, or with the town in general. Parents were satisfied with a school not only when their child was academically successful, but also when their family was socially included into the educational experience on all levels.

Individualized attention: "my kid was getting lost there"

The parents at both MHS and MA have the expectations and individual focus that is standard for a population in this socio-economic class. Parents at both schools demand a high level of instruction and attention for their children, and parents who do not feel that their children's needs are being met look for alternate schooling options. Parents expect that education is individualized to their child's specific needs and that the necessary attention is directed to a child to spe-

cialize curriculum for him or her. Because MHS has extensive resources, the school's ability to cater to these expectations is far above most other public schools, and it can retain many families who value this individualization of education. The residents of Midcoast fit the profile Lareau (1987) creates of involved and demanding upper-middle class parents. Parents who are educated and economically stable are very comfortable promoting their values and engaging themselves for the sake of their children. This level of integration leads parents to demand that the school focus attention and meet the specific needs of their child.

Parents at both the public and private school in Midcoast have these expectations for their children's education. Parents who were unsatisfied with MHS frequently used the phrase "my kid was getting lost there." Five hundred students for four grades is hardly a large school, but the 300 student population of MA over seven grades creates smaller classes. This size is better suited to students who were quiet or less aggressive about participating. Mrs. Adams has two boys at MA, but kept her youngest daughter in the public school. Mrs. Adams sent her second son to MA because "he was an introvert… in a small setting he felt exposed and was made to participate and was drawn out in a way." This attention is coupled with an involved advising network at MA, in which a faculty member frequently checks on a student and reports his or her progress and mental health to the parents. The parents at MA and MHS both valued small class sizes and the attention from teachers in school, but some parents felt that only MA could create this environment for their child. Coleman and Hoffer explain these expectations; although they generalize that such attention can only be found in private schools (1987). The authors explain that private schools are smaller and allow for more intensive relationships between students and teachers because students spend more of their time with a smaller number of faculty. In Midcoast, the private school does fit Coleman and Hoffer's definition, but the public school offered a structure that satisfied many parents' expectations as well.

The public school did accomplish the same individualization and close relationship building as the private school for many families. I found that parents who were happy at MHS talked about the same type of environment and individualization that parents at MA vocalized. In both groups felt that their child was in an environment where they were receiving a large enough amount of attention, so the system at MHS did not fail everyone. Mrs. Pelham, a mother of four students in the public system told me that "our kids have all been able to get into all the courses they wanted and the classes are small." Public and private school parents did not have different expectations for individualization, but they differed on how they felt their individual child's needs were being met in the public school.

Some parents who felt that MHS was not small enough had children who had specific needs that needed to be dealt with. All parents felt that their child was unique—some were outgoing, others shy or easily distracted. However, there were students for whom the small, structured environment of MA was better suited because of disabilities or diagnosed social disorders. Two families had children in high school with ADHD, one of whom knew before getting to MA and the other diagnosed while there. These parents felt that their children were better served by the attention at MA than they would have been at MHS. Some parents of children who were particularly bright had similar feelings about the two schools, complaining that MHS catered only to the middle and did not offer enough support for children with higher academic performance. Mrs. Franklin, a mother with two sons in private school in the Midcoast area, explained that "the public school really caters to a midline, if not lower, so when you have kids on either end of the spectrum I think their needs tend not to be addressed as much." MHS failed to provide the specialized attention that some parents felt their children needed. Mr. Sawyer, a member of the school board and father of a son at MHS, explained that these concerns are impossible to fix due to the nature of public education. Because all students have to be accepted, the range of abilities and needs that must be addressed is very large and resources must be distributed equally across all levels of performance.

Individualized attention for their children is important to parents in Midcoast, as is expected given the nature of the population. There was no difference in the general educational ideology of parents in the public or private schools; instead they were separated by their perception of the resources at each school. Physical differences of class sizes or structural aspects such as the advising system separated the two schools, which otherwise offered very similar academic opportunities. The individual needs of children varied from family to family, and the education and feelings of entitlement of parents in Midcoast encouraged them to take a very active role in exploring school options for their children. Parents in Midcoast all expected individualized programs for their children, and some felt that this was provided at the public school, while others felt it necessary to enroll their children in an environment where personal attention was a priority. The personality and needs of their individual children strongly influenced this decision.

Personalized aspects of school choice varied from family to family, and so I looked for larger social structures that might also influence parents to pick between MHS and MA in this community. Another mediating factor was the level of community and social integration that students and parents experienced in the public high school.. Once again all the parents were willing to give the public schools a chance but at the point where a social relationship broke down they looked for a replacement. MA not only provided an individualized aca-

demic environment, but also an alternate community dynamic and social group. The individual needs of their children are at the forefront of all parents' minds, but community integration is also deciding factor in a small town like Midcoast.

Children's own happiness was a strong determining factor of parents' contentment, and no study of parent choice can ignore the feelings of the children themselves. Social inclusion is especially important to adolescents, and their focus in school is generally much more social than academic. This was evident from the importance of social stress in middle school that repeatedly arose in the interviews. Every one of the parents I spoke with recalled problems from their child's middle school years. None of these problems were academic; there is no change in the curriculum that challenges students in a new way. Instead, middle school is a difficult social environment with new pressures and intense social stratification. For example, Mrs. Davis is a mother of twin daughters and transferred her girls to Midcoast Academy just before sixth grade in an effort to fix a negative social experience.

"We volunteered to coach basketball and Molly was having a hard time making friends. The woman who was helping me explained to me, 'oh, Molly's tall, she's thin, she's pretty, she's athletic, she's smart, they hate her'. And she just said it so matter of fact, like this is why they don't want your daughter here. So socially we found the public schools to be pretty much a nightmare."

If a child does not fit in socially with his or her classmates, most parents seemed to feel that trying to promote academic success would be useless. For the Davis family, moving their daughters to a new social environment allowed the girls a chance to start over when they felt that integration was a lost cause. The Jacksons moved both their son Chris and their daughter Jenny to MA, and both children had social problems that influenced their decision to switch schools. Mrs. Jackson told me, "Jenny wasn't that happy socially in the in the public school by the time she got to middle school." This exclusion encouraged the family to explore private school options, which only exacerbated the social situation for their daughter. She was socially ostracized even more for wanting to leave, and "the kids were pretty nasty to her. You know middle school."

Parents felt that these social problems were generally alleviated at Midcoast Academy. MA promotes its small size to parents and students and claims that it is too socially intimate to have cliques. With only 30 students in each graduating class, all students know each other well. When the Jackson family moved their son Chris to Midcoast Academy to follow his sister, one of the positive benefits of the school for Chris was this lack of social hierarchy. Mrs. Jackson explained that,

"For the boys there is really only one social group. There's not a huge caste between the jocks and the non-jocks or something, because athletics are required and everyone participates in sports on some level."

Other parents were not quite as supportive of this idea of social integration, despite the school size. Mrs. Davis ended up removing her other daughter from MA after her junior year in high school because she still felt that she did not fit in with her peers. This experience shows that no school can offer a perfect social environment, especially in the middle school years, but private schools in this setting can exist to offer a change and a chance for many students who are not socially integrated to start over.

Midcoast Academy allows this fresh start because it creates a social structure that encourages integration. Coleman and Hoffer (1987) point out that private schools can have problems with social integration because their students are not all from the same external community. Midcoast Academy forces students to play sports and participate in extra-curricular activities; a strategy that these authors claim is a method to encourage integration. Activities outside the classroom create groups or teams, which serve as structured social communities for students who lack informal social peer groups. Mrs. Lawson had moved to the community from New York and her four children were enrolled in both public and private schools. She explained how her children became socially integrated, and pointed to extra-curricular activities as a very influential agent. "Because my kids moved her from New York, they had to learn to make new friends. Sports teams help, especially when kids are from all over."

All parents recognized the importance of a child's social experience and the struggles each one faced in middle school, but parents who left their children in the public school either had children with fewer problems or believed that they would outgrow it. The Pelham family sent four children through the public school system in Midcoast, and the youngest daughter dealt with social drama in her middle school years. In the end, her mother was happy with how her social experience turned out despite the imperfections that she seemed to feel were a standard part of an adolescent experience.

"They're all very nice girls, very supportive of each other, not competitive among themselves, but there's a lot of drama. Not picking on each other like in eighth grade, they have resolved those differences with each other. It's very tiring, but not catty because the school is small enough and they've outgrown that."

Public school parents generally had more patience that their child's social problems would shift and he or she would be included in a peer group again. All parents were concerned that their children were socially integrated into the school community. When the situation appeared unfixable, private school provided an alternative social group for a child to start over.

Parents were also concerned about their children's peer groups, but for different reasons. These social networks that students develop with their peers can be the most influential motivators to promote or discourage behavior. Students want to be included in a peer group, but parents want to make sure that the pressure coming from this group is a positive influence on their child. Parents in Midcoast were surprisingly unconcerned with drugs, alcohol, or sexual activity. Instead, many spoke extensively about the role of peer groups in promoting motivation and academic excellence. When a child was not as self-motivated as he or she might be, the parents had very different views on who needed to provide the incentive for a child to work harder and how this encouragement should take place.

The importance of peer group was repeatedly stressed among the private school parents, who also felt that the school should be the primary actor to encourage hard work. The higher expectations at Midcoast Academy put pressure on all students to achieve, which parents felt influenced peer pressure to promote academic achievement. When MA parents spoke about the deficiencies of the public high school academics, they rarely claimed that there were not enough opportunities. Instead, they felt that MA was a more "academic setting" with "higher expectations." These families felt that it was the job of the school to not only provide resources, but to demand that students challenge themselves and make use of the opportunities given to them.

Private school parents felt that this focus also created a certain social group that was more motivating for their children. Because there was a high expectation for behavior, all students made an effort to live up to that. This creates different values in high school social groups, who will then place a much higher value on performing well academically. Many parents at MA felt that their children's performance in public school had not been as good as it could have been because they had been limited by the expectations of a social group that did not value academics. Ms. Adams, a divorced mother with three children sent her two older sons to MA. She moved Andrew, the eldest, so that he would be surrounded by students who would have goals that she found more appropriate.

"Being a male and an athlete in the public system, he was really getting feedback that that was what he was about and a lack of nurturing for his intellectual, academic self… MA provided a better peer group for Andrew to maximize his potential as a student and an athlete."

She felt that Andrew's school and his peer group were better motivating influences than their family might be. Mr. Jackson, Chris and Jenny's father, summed it up when he explained that, "you didn't feel like a nerd if you were working hard." He felt that his children had not performed up to their potential in public

school, where they were afraid of being teased for being smart. The students at MA had different goals and valued academic excellence as an indicator of popularity.

Public school parents recognized the value of peer groups, but were more concerned that their children's friends were "good kids" rather than smart or motivated ones. Mrs. Sawyer has three children, two of whom were currently enrolled in MHS and a third who is almost old enough to enter. I asked her about her son's friends and she explained that "he has a huge group of freshman boys who hang out together, all nice kids… some struggle with certain things, but they're doing their work, going to school, not getting arrested, not getting caught drinking, smoking, or doing drugs too much." Her daughter's friends included a group of junior boys "who are pretty interesting…just goofy, nice kids." Public school parents seemed to be more in touch with the social happiness of their children without being concerned with the academic success of their peer groups.

The difference in the role of a peer group on a child's motivation is rooted in one of the critical differences between public and private school parents. All parents, even those with children at MA, felt that any child who was intrinsically motivated could succeed at MHS. Each child has a very different approach to learning and schoolwork, and all need different levels of structure. For those students who were not able to push themselves to succeed in their classes, parents at each school disagreed on who should step in. Parents at MA wanted to the school to intervene and influence the children to value academics above everything else. Mrs. Lawson, a mother of four children who all went back and forth between MA and MHS, differentiated the academic environments of each: "MA, academically, pushes the kids a bit more and provides more structure than MHS. I think there are great teachers at both, but I feel that the framework is more important." Expectations came from the school, and students' performances were a product of what the school demanded.

Parents looked to the school to reinforce the goals they had for their children, although they differed in how great a role they expected the school to take in motivating students' performances. These different expectations support the primary finding of Goldring and Shapira that states "the extent to which the parents perceive the school's program to be compatible with their expectations of the school has the strongest influence on parents' sense of satisfaction" (1993, 406). When parents were picking a school for their child to attend, they wanted an institution that would communicate a mission and value structure in line with their expectations.

Parents in the two schools differed in their expectations for the children themselves, so the schools were expected to play different roles to encourage performance. All of the families described their children as very bright, and all

went on to college. However, if a child was struggling because she or he was not working up to potential, parents at MA immediately looked to the school to provide a better environment to promote success. Not all public school parents shared this belief that any child could excel if placed in the right structure, and a few parents at MHS conceded that their children might not be the smartest ones in the class. Mrs. Sawyer, a mother of three children at MHS, has a husband on the school committee and is a huge supporter of the school. However, she told me in the same sentence that her son was "not bright, actually pretty average" and that "the school is pretty content with anyone not causing a lot of trouble or flunking out." No parent at MA ever suggested that a child might be struggling because he or she was not intellectually capable of handling the work.

Parents valued the same educational outcomes for their children, but they had different expectations for the learning process. Rotter's concept of locus of control (1966) can be expanded to apply to parents instead of students, explaining the internal or external control differences in Midcoast families. Most MHS parents value internal control and feel that it is the job of the individual parent to control academic outcomes for children. MA parents rely on external control and place the responsibility in the hands of the school. This model does not explain differences in student attitudes or in school responses, but does provide an accurate framework to understand the difference in public and private school parent expectations in Midcoast.

Midcoast Academy parents wanted the school to create a new community where expectations were higher and pressure was put on everyone. Mrs. Franklin is a mother of two sons, both of whom she enrolled in private school after a terrible public experience in a different community. She explained to me that for her, the crucial difference between public and private schools for her was the school's role in promoting academic excellence.

"At MA, it's not just that you're in seventh grade and here's the curriculum so that's what you're going to do. They expect more, they demand more, and they raise the level of expectation so kids have to meet it."

Midcoast Academy parents felt that their children were capable of excelling in school if the right structure was provided for them and if the school demanded a high level of performance from all students.

Parents at the public school felt that the family should be the most active source of motivation for a child. It was not the role of the school to demand that a child perform at a certain level, it was the parents job to monitor that the child was doing what was asked of him or her. MHS does have high expectations for their students, and have a large number who excel in the classroom. Mrs. Pelham's son was one of those students, and she explained that his success was due to teachers, conferencing, and the school environment provided to him. However,

when I asked about the source of her son's motivation, she first explained to me that she and her husband have law degrees and because she is able to stay home with her children, "obviously there is encouragement at home." Her son was given the resources in public school to succeed, but she considered it her job, along with his father, to promote achievement.

All parents in both schools were highly involved in their children's education, public and private school parents felt differently about their active role in the process. These differences in sources of student motivation are in conflict with Lareau's generalizations about parent involvement (1987). She finds that the level at which parents push their children compared to the expectations set by the school vary based on socio-economic status, and all middle and upper-class parents were engaged in their child's learning both through involvement in the classroom and supplemental work at home. Parents at MA seemed reluctant to provide this extra assistance, and expected the school to do its job fully so that the education of their children could be taken out of their hands. They were very involved as volunteers in the school and had high expectations for the results of their children's academic work, but their involvement did not seem to include lots of outside academic time with their children. This could be due to a time constraint from their job, but seemed to be a more of a philosophical difference. Public school parents viewed the family as a motivating influence, while private school parents left this task up to the school. One mother in the public school had hired a Spanish tutor from a nearby college for her son, and another was quizzing her daughter for a science test when I called to conduct the interview. If an MA parent sensed that their child needed extra help, it was the job of the school to supply it.

The dissimilar college search processes of students at MHS and MA reinforce the differences highlighted by the locus of control model. Parents demonstrated a huge difference in their willingness to engage in the application process. All parents expected similar outcomes, but MHS parents internally controlled the situation, while MA parents left the control to outside forces. MA provides an extensive college guidance process that starts freshman year and provides personal counseling to each student at the school. Mr. Johnson has two sons who have already graduated from MA and two more who will, so he was an expert on the college search process. He explained to me that "the head guidance counselor is unbelievable, and all the kids do their applications early and she reviews each one to make sure they dotted all the I's and crossed all the T's." Public school parents were generally disappointed with the help the school provided, but did not demand that the guidance counselors do more. Instead, parents took on the responsibility themselves. Mrs. Sanders has two sons who went to college after graduating from MHS, and she told me that when it can time for her oldest son to apply, "whatever charge there was [of the application process] I would have to

say that I did most of it." Mrs. Sawyer reinforced this approach and explained that with her daughter who is a junior, "we've been doing a lot outside [of the school]."

Coleman and Hoffer (1987) would explain these differences as a lack of social capital in private school families. Midcoast families possess human capital, which is measured in parent education and values for their children. Social capital exists when these parents create meaningful bonds and directly impart this human capital on their children. The authors explain that many well-educated parents do not have the time to impart meaningful social capital on their children. The difference between MA and MHS parents is not related to time constraints. The two groups had different views of how active parents needed to be in promoting learning in the home. Parents valued the need and effectiveness of social capital differently.

Parents who stayed at the public school were much more willing to fill in the holes that they perceived in their children's education, whether it be a motivating influence or the college application process. Private school parents expected the school to fill these roles. These differences show that parents have contrasting expectations for the relationship they build with the school. Their satisfaction with their choice was rooted in how well the school's environment and philosophy matched their own. Parents chose a school based on this alignment with their expectations.

The parent school-relationship: "we went right to the principal"

All parents had clear expectations for their role in the family-school relationship. Parents had different perspectives on how much they would be involved to educate their child, but all agreed that they expected the school to be accessible and receptive to them. Not all parents perceived themselves as equal players in their relationship with the school. Parents at both schools actively approached the teachers and administration about problems, despite having very different views about their role in carrying out the solution. Every parent at both schools said they felt comfortable contacting the school with problems and had done so at some point in their child's educational experience. The level at which parents got involved varied greatly, but there was no connection between how often parents contacted the school regarding their child and what type of school they sent their child to. However, inclusion in this relationship was extremely important for most parents. The relationship between the parents and the school was expected to be a partnership, even for public school parents who took more individual responsibility for their children's education. Parents wanted to feel like a part of all decision-making processes and needed to be assured that the school was listening and responsive to their needs. When a school upheld their end of the responsibility, parents offered time and volunteer support.

Goldring and Shapira find that "parent involvement and empowerment are two possible ways in which parents express their sense of ownership and commitment to their school" (1993, 398). If this connection does not happen, parents will look elsewhere for a school that offers this relationship. In Midcoast, once again parents are willing to try to build this relationship in the public school until something happens to make them feel alienated or ignored. Some families felt that this breakdown was due to structural problems in MHS, but in listening to individual stories it seemed more that specific problems had not been addressed as a parent would have liked. Because the school could not solve every academic or social conflict in favor of the child or parents, the breakdown of this relationship is sometimes inevitable. Parents who feel most strongly about these feelings will seek a new environment in which they feel they can build a partnership with the school.

The schools understand the importance of this relationship and the communication that fosters it. MHS and MA both attempt, to varying degrees, to facilitate this connection with parents. Parents do not contact the schools about their own children only because they feel it is important, but also because this behavior is actively encouraged by both MHS and MA. MHS gives parents the home phone and email address of their children's teachers, and MA furthers this openness by having teachers call home to give frequent progress reports. Mrs. Pelham told me that she was extremely comfortable going to MHS about her children, "but that's my nature. I think all parents are encouraged to do that… they encourage you to contact them when there is an issue and parents really feel that they can do that." She felt that the structure for parent feedback and the reception of the public school to her needs was sufficient. Other parents disagreed.

The parents who moved their children to MA all experienced a clear breakdown in this parent-school partnership. It cannot be determined whether the school was not responsive or the parent's claim was not substantiated; regardless, when parents felt that they were not in an equal and open dialogue they searched for somewhere that allowed them more access. The Jackson family had the most serious instance of a failure in this relationship. They moved their daughter to MA after a disastrous middle school teacher-parent conference.

"Jenny is pretty shy, we felt like she got lost. We literally went to a teacher conference in November and she started talking about Jenny and she was talking about another kid. It was her homeroom teacher talking to us about someone else's child."

It was clear to the Jacksons that the public school system was not putting in the effort they expected in regard to their daughter's education. Mrs. Davis had a similar experience when she called the public school about a gun threat her daughters had overheard and was dismissed by the administration. "I

never got a single reply back from anyone. I even sent [a letter] to the Department of Education and never got a response."

The administration at each school plays a key role in this parent-school relationship, and all parents knew a great deal about their principal. Both MHS and MA have administrators who are well liked and supported by the community and both schools place the burden of maintaining a school community in the hands of this individual. Mrs. Pelham is a veteran of MHS and has had one of her four children at the school through the last two principals. She raved about each and the sense of community both brought.

"She [the first principal] was in at 5am and knew every kid by name. And at her speech at graduation she went through the entire class and mentioned every graduating senior and something about them…. Recently he [the new principal] announced he's leaving and all the girls started crying, just to give you an idea of the relationship he has with them. He comes to every game, every performance. It's wonderful having a small school, and we've been very lucky."

Mr. Sawyer, a father of three children who is also on the school board, pointed to the strength of the administration in the Midcoast public schools as an explanation for the district's excellent performance. "We're lucky enough to have experienced principals, and because Midcoast is considered well-performing and a high-paying district, we can attract well qualified individuals." He also pointed to the superintendents as key individuals who monitor the many people below them and maintain a standard for performance. "There is accountability, not to make sure that every parent is placated, but to make sure that every concern is addressed fairly and evenly." The school district understands the expectations of parents and the administration is the key player in creating an intimate and accessible environment. The principals are organized and receptive about parents' individual concerns while also attentive to the needs of the school and Midcoast community.

The role of the headmaster at MA is slightly different because of the nature of the school community. Instead of being part of a larger district, MA exists as an isolated entity and the headmaster is in charge of dictating the spirit and procedures for the school. A veteran of MA, Mr. Johnson has sent three children through the school with a fourth about to enroll. He pointed to the recent switch in headmasters as the only negative aspect of MA. A new administrator recently came in and tried to change how things were done, to the dismay of long-time families.

"The headmaster before was very strong, very good communicator, very good vision for where he wanted the school to go, met with parents often, very accessible and visible. And while the new headmaster; while he was visible and somewhat accessible, he didn't always listen to what people were say-

ing about how some of his actions he was taking would be changing the environment of the school."

Mr. Johnson recognized the power of the administrator in not only dealing with procedural problems but also in influencing the nature of the school community, and strongly valued this latter responsibility.

It is interesting that the most important figure to most of the parents I talked to was the administrator of the school, given that individual teachers are the ones who spend the most time with their children. Parents at both schools recognized that the quality of teachers could be erratic and that no one was guaranteed a solid succession of quality instructors. The quality of teaching seemed to not be a factor in the choice between public and private schools, as long as the parents felt that the administration was on their side and accessible to hear their complaints. In the public school, Mrs. Pelham told about a conflict she had with her daughter's language teacher.

"In the case of this one teacher some of us had a problem with… we went right to the principal and he sent the assistant principal in to monitor the classes and see what's going on. The school was extremely responsive."

These priorities of parents in both schools prove that it is not the quality of teaching that satisfies the parents as much as the administrations' ability to handle and resolve complaints. The quality of instruction was valued below the leadership of an administrator, suggesting that for all parents the community of the school was more important than the academic learning in the classroom.

This idea was more strongly reinforced at MA, where I found more discontent about the quality of teaching than at MHS. Mrs. Davis felt that because teachers at MA were not required to have their teaching certificate, many were experts in their subject but unable to deal emotionally with adolescents' developmental needs. Other parents complained of high turnover due to the lower salaries offered by the school. Mr. Johnson justified these salaries by explaining that because teachers taught for less than in the public school, they were at MA for reasons other than money and more engaged with the school. "They prefer to be in that small environment where they can get close to the kids, watch them develop, and really be creative." These comments all point to the importance of community over academic learning. Individual teaching abilities were rarely mentioned, but the values of the school community were frequently highlighted. The climate of the school and the community that is fostered by the administrators was seen as far more important than the classroom instruction that took place. Parents seek alternatives when this relationship between the parent and the school breaks down in the public school. Midcoast Academy offers an environment in which

accessibility and community are highly stressed to rebuild this partnership for those who lost it in the public school.

Community inclusion: "you're leaving us"

The public and private school options in Midcoast are clearly differentiated by the social networks and relationship to the community that parents experience. Other factors have focused on the differences in the ideology and structure of each school; none have examined the inherent divide between publicly funded education and privatized options. The level of parent-to-parent networking and community integration that is maintained at MHS is directly connected to the fact that the school is public. Public schools are maintained through local taxes, and in small towns like Midcoast, the high school is a central icon in the town social life. Basketball games are town events, the high school booster clubs are the largest fundraising booths at the summer fair, and the building is used for a variety of events. A general connection to the community is maintained through an allegiance and integration into the public schools.

Patricia and Richard Schmuck highlight the role of a high school in a small town in their study on democratic participation in such environments. Schmuck and Schmuck find that "people go to the school for education, entertainment, social life, and community identity" (1990, 14). While most of the schools in this study are much more rural than Midcoast High School, the community is still brought together with an identity around the high school in a way that an urban school would not be. The schools supplement and structure local culture for students and their families. Mrs. McDonald, the mother of one son who graduated from MHS, explained that most activities in the town, even the large summer festival that draws people from all over the state, focus around the high school. "The crazy event of the summer, the festival, is tied to the school and groups like the basketball boosters. That definitely, because of the big focus which is mainly through the high school, makes us more of a community." Midcoast is not an area isolated by geographical distance, so people do not attach themselves to the high school because of a need for resources. Residents look to the school to create a community identity and supplement social life.

Parents whose children had already graduated remembered feeling like more active members of the town of Midcoast when their children were enrolled in school, primarily because they had more social interaction with other parents. The familiarity of people in the small town fueled parent involvement. Mrs. McDonald explained to me that despite the small size of the town, "now that I don't have anyone in the school I feel less connected to the community." This reinforces the importance of the school's role in the social atmosphere in Midcoast. Parents have personal relationships with the school because they are concerned with

their children's individual education, but parents also have a social relationship with the school to establish their place in the social network of the community.

All parents I spoke with commented on their level of involvement and volunteering in the schools, and even those who felt that they could have given more time were engaged at some level. Mrs. Sanders, a mother of two sons who went through the Midcoast public school system, told me both that "I don't think I have been enormously involved" but then mentioned that she "just got home last night from working at the Jazz Festival because I was president of the parent support group for the drama program." This shows that the expectation for parent involvement is very high, and parents in Midcoast feel the pressure to give their time to help with school activities. This is not a negative pressure; most parents felt that their volunteer time was a natural expansion of the time they would have given to their children's activities. Mr. Sawyer explained, "the community is emotionally attached to the school… activities bring people together even if they don't have kids on the team or in the play." School-based gatherings provide a chance for people to support their own children as well as the community as a whole.

Parent involvement is not rooted only in academics or the environment at the school; parents are also concerned with creating a community for the town. For example, parents emphasized sports because this was the method through which members of the community were brought together as spectators and fans. Mrs. Sawyer highlighted these priorities by explaining, "there's a lot of sports emphasis which is maybe not so great—a lot of nurturing around that and the booster parent association. Parents will do almost anything for their kids, and while I think that's true academically as well it's not that visible."

Not only were parents involved through sports, but also through drama, the arts, or the PTA at the school. These parents were the same ones who spoke about being active on the board at the library, coaching travel soccer teams, going to church, and getting their kids involved in community service outside of the school.

Coleman and Hoffer's model of social capital (1987) helps explain the importance of community inclusion to local families. On a basic level, the small size of the town promotes a close social community, only because many people know each other and the social circle is tight-knit. Coleman and Hoffer's social capital legitimizes these social connections and illustrates the importance of such a community network on schools. Social capital in a family is the connection between parents and children. Social capital in a community is a connection between members of a town. These relationships allow information to be shared and provide support for education. MHS parents were highly integrated into this network. Without social capital in a community, a family will look to a

school to provide an alternate social network. Parents at Midcoast Academy find this in private school.

The one common factor among all private school families that differentiated them from the public school population was the fact that despite living in a small town, none felt like a part of the Midcoast community. Private school parents felt ostracized from the Midcoast town community most acutely, and this isolation was a factor that drove many to explore options outside the public school. The Jacksons are an excellent example of this situation. At the time of the interview they had been living in Midcoast for over fifteen years. Despite this, Mr. Jackson explained that because they were young parents and in a different economic position when they first arrived than other children's parents, they failed to be integrated into the community. Even after their children went through school, he said that "we are not a large part of the social scene here; our social life revolves around family or work." While this was not the most dominant reason they sent their children to private school, there was no connection to the community that encouraged them to stay in the public system. The Jacksons, and other parents like them, achieved a level of community integration at Midcoast Academy that made up for their disconnect from the town. Mrs. Adams explained, "mandatory athletics really put me on the sideline a few hours a week year round, and that was of value. It just gives you time to talk to people… you're all together for however many minutes and I think a sense of community really grows from that." MA parents found a community in the school to replace the social network they felt separated from in Midcoast. Midcoast High School parents had either raised their children in the community or immediately been welcomed and integrated into Midcoast when they first arrived. They all felt that they were active members of the town, especially while their children were attending the schools.

A family's feelings of community integration were not dependent on the length of they had spent in Midcoast but instead on their process of integration and the welcome they received. This immediate social inclusion greatly dictated whether they stayed in the public schools or not. Several families were disconnected from the Midcoast town community shortly after arriving and they sought a more welcoming environment at MA. Parents who were already strongly integrated into the community claimed that Midcoast was a welcoming town, but many new families told stories of being ostracized when they tried to break into the social network. The Davis family felt this strongly after their arrival, and the girls struggled on a club soccer team that they felt was biased against newcomers. Mrs. Davis recalled,

"One mother said to me, now, she was mad that her son didn't make the Lions, which is the Midcoast travel soccer team, 'Can you believe it? Justin made the

team and his family just moved to town!' I was thinking, how long to we have to pay our taxes and live here before our kids get any respect?"

Mrs. Davis felt that to other mothers in the community, there was a sense that her family had to spend a certain amount of time in the town before they could be accepted as members. Without this level of inclusion, they could not enjoy benefits such as belonging to a team. Others mothers told stories of being rejected by Girl Scout troops or play groups because they had not lived in town long enough.

Mrs. Pelham, a mother at MHS disagreed and told me that "it is not hard at all to move into the community." She then explained that integration happened through involvement in the churches and at the school. She explained that, "A family finds their place and starts integrating themselves." If this "place" is not found or accepted, a family does not seamlessly fall into their role in the community. This process suggests a high level of assimilation and homogeneity. To Mrs. Pelham, the idea that a family might not immediately join one of the five churches was inconceivable. She explained that "the Universalist is very open" and that seemed to be where families who might not be perfectly mainstream were expected to go. I do not think that Mrs. Pelham's views on religious integration can be generalized to the entire Midcoast population, but there is a clear sense of socialization that must occur in order for newcomers to be integrated.

Most families had moved into the community and gone through this process of community integration. About half had done so after they had children. None of the parents at either school had grown up in Midcoast themselves. When I asked about why they had moved into the town, every family who moved cited the reputation of the public schools and community as one strong reason for picking Midcoast over other small towns in the area, and all of them had given the public schools a chance. The reputation of the schools, established both through their consistent high performance and word-of-mouth, was extremely important to all residents. Mrs. Sawyer explained that above everything else, "we moved to Midcoast based on what we had heard about the quality of the public school system." The fact that this much value is placed on the feelings of other residents reaffirms the strength of the Midcoast community, and the value that is held for opinions of others in the social network. Mrs. Sanders moved to Midcoast with her family just before her children entered middle school, and the educational system was the Sanders' primary reason for choosing the town. Reputation had been extremely important to her family, and not only was academic success valued, but "it was not just a [academic] school issue, we were looking for a community and a community school." Academics can be measured numerically, but the Sanders were more concerned with the aspects of the school that are spread

through reputation and social connections rather than what they could learn on a piece of paper.

This is contrary to the findings of Salganik and Karweit (1982), who do not recognize the importance of school reputation, especially in a small town where everyone knows each other. The authors claim that private schools are legitimate when they achieve the respect of families, as demonstrated through enrollment. Public schools force students to attend and so they are legitimate institutions only because the government allows them to remain open, regardless of whether parents respect them. Midcoast is a community where public and private school choice is an option for most families, and thus the public school is held to the same standards as the private school and these different structures of legitimacy and respect do not exist. MHS attracts most of its students, many of whom move in from other towns, because of its repeated high performance and community reputation. Whether a school is public or private, legitimacy does not come only from serving students, but from the reputation the school receives and the kind of students it is able to attract. The nature of school choice in Midcoast shows just how important the reputation of a school is, regardless of whether it is public or private.

The excellent reputation that drew many families to Midcoast did not hold true for every family. When parents had problems with the schools, this reputation proved untrue. This did not encourage a family's failing community involvement in any way. When a family left the public system, their integration in the community essentially ended. Every family that moved its children to Midcoast Academy eventually felt disconnected from the town as a whole, and the MA community was substituted for the town network. The Franklin family also moved to Midcoast for the reputation of the schools, but immediately placed their son in MA. Mrs. Franklin explained that she was distanced from the town community because of her separation from the public schools. "Maybe if I had been here before… and had some sort of core involvement, it might have been different. But we moved here and our son was at MA and so my social focus revolved around that." This disconnect was not the factor that drove all families to the private school, but the replacement of the private school community for the town community was an eventual consequence for every MA family.

This separation from the town was due in part to the lack of connection to other parents in the community itself. MA students come from many towns, and no geographic community is supported. The Adams family lived outside of Midcoast, and Mrs. Adams' perception of the MA community highlighted this idea. "MA is a community but it draws from all over… people travel miles and they really get there which is a function of how much everyone is invested in so many ways." Many students felt this division most acutely when they separat-

ed from their peer groups. Not only were they geographically distant, but many children also experienced social isolation from their public school friends when they went to MA. While these students replaced their peer groups with new ones at the private school, many parents told stories of hostility and exclusion that their children experienced from their old friends. Both of the Jackson children faced this animosity from their peers.

"Chris had a very hard time leaving his friends at Midcoast and they didn't make it easy for him. There was a lot of peer pressure and the feeling that he was deserting them… It wasn't that they were mad that he was going to a private school, it was more like, oh—you're leaving us."

Children were as aware of the connection between the school community and attendance at public school as their parents, and the decision to attend MA was seen by many as a betrayal of the community. Once a family chose to move to the private school, their connection to the community continued to breakdown. This process highlights the many levels of relationship built between students, families, schools, and communities and the dimensions of interplay between them.

Conclusion:

Mr. Johnson's comment summarizes several key conclusions about school choice in Midcoast. First, the decision to choose between a public and private school is not one that is taken lightly by any family. Parents highly value their children's development, and selecting the environment for their child to attend school is one of the most important parts in the process of a child's education. Second, Mr. Johnson points out that while every family has different characteristics, there are set guidelines that govern school choice. The criteria for the Johnson's probably differed from the factors their neighbors considered, but there are some common themes among all families in this community. One of these commonalities is the importance of the community for families in a small town, as shown by Mr. Johnson's concern for his children's social integration and the environment they were immersed.

The decisions of Midcoast parents cannot explain school choices across the country, but studying this community provides a focused look at some of the key influences that motivate families. This study is specific to this site, and the homogeneity of the population isolates the kind of communities to which we can apply the findings. However, Midcoast provides a chance to closely examine the expectations and actions of parents in higher socio-economic brackets. Parents who are well educated and financially secure tend to have many demands about their children's education, and in this study I hoped to better illustrate what those demands are and how they influence parent's choice of schools.

One of the important lessons from Midcoast concerns the nature of public and private schools in the United States. It is generally the case that public schools cannot offer the same quality of education that private academies do. Private schools perform better than public schools in most parts of the nation, but Midcoast proves that a public school with appropriate resources can offer a competitive education to a local private institution. Well-funded public schools can consistently perform well, and these schools will earn a reputation and be respected. Midcoast shows that parents in higher SES brackets do not inherently prefer private schools, and public education can be as successful as private. It is also important to note that the success that parents measure is not always academic. Schools can have high test scores and send children to good colleges, but Midcoast parents showed that in small communities, parents care about more than classroom learning. We cannot ignore the personalized attention that parents demand for their children, and the level of individual focus each family has is extremely high. However, parents are also concerned with a number of relationships that the family builds with the school and the community.

I. Purpose, Background, Significance:

As debate rages about the problems in the American public school system, increasing value is placed on the private sector of schooling. In my research I am looking to identify motivations behind parents' decision to send their children to public or private schools and then I would like to speak with the students to correlate these motivations with the child's actual experience. I am conjecturing that better resources at private schools are not the only factors drawing parents, but there are social networking and mobility factors that suggest private school is a better option.

II. Test Procedures:

I am going to interview six families in one community who have children attending the public school and six families who have children at the private school. I will conduct an hour-long interview with one or both of the parents, and then interview their child for a half hour. While some of the questions about class and social mobility may be stressful for the participants, there is no serious risk due to their participation. There are also no personal benefits for the participants, but I hope their answers will help bring about better understanding of the role of public and private schools in America's social hierarchy.

III. Subject Population:

I am going to use Midcoast as my test case due to the homogeneity of income levels, race, and family background in that community. It is also ideal due to the nature of the school system. Midcoast Academy is a secular private school that serves only day students. Many parents choose MA over Midcoast

High School, despite the fact that MHS recently built a new facility, is known for having some of the highest quality of education in the state, and is free. I hope that in looking at this community I will be able to erase some of the usual motivators behind leaving private schools (better teachers, more recourses, etc.) and look at some of the social factors that would then play a role. I am originally from a community in the state about an hour away, and while I am acquaintances with several students at both high schools, none of these families actually live within Midcoast. I am going to use them to refer me to other families who I will be able to interview without any prior knowledge of their educational experience. I do not feel that this minor connection to my community will make me biased; instead I believe the benefits of connection will help me receive more honest and open answers from the families I am referred to.

I am going to interview 12 families, six who decided to stay at MHS and 6 who sent their children to MA. The families I know will refer me to a few other students to begin, and I will use a snowballing technique from there. I am going to ask each family personally to participate and then ask for referrals to other applicable subjects. Due to the homogeneity of my population as a whole, this snowballing technique should offer me a broad enough range of experiences. In speaking with the parents, I will obtain permission to interview their children (who may still be underage). My conversations with these high school students will focus on their experience at their high school regarding social interactions and their perception of their parents' decision.

IV: Treatment of Data:

I will tape record all of the sessions and keep the identities of the individuals confidential. Should any evidence of illegal activity or other incriminating information come out in the interview, I will erase that portion of the tape as soon as the interview is concluded. The only people who will have access to the information in my interviews will be my advisor and myself. In my report I will use alternate names and exclude any defining characteristics that would make the family or individuals identifiable.

V: Interview Schedule:

1. Why did you choose to send your kids to MA/MHS?
2. Did they want to go there?
3. Has the experience been what you thought it would be?
4. Did your children always attend private/public school? If no, why did you switch?
5. Would you ever consider sending your child to the other high school?
6. Do you feel that in general public or private education is better? Why?
7. Did your children have a positive experience at MA/MHS?

8. What was a negative feature of their education there?
9. What kinds of kids did they end up being friends with?
10. Do they have any friends from different schools?
11. How would you describe a typical family from MA/MHS?
12. Do you feel a part of the community at this school?
13. Do you feel like a part of the community of Midcoast?
14. Are there any significant differences between the members of each of these populations?
15. How do you think your child would be different if they went to the other option of schools right now? How would this affect them down the road?

Added Questions: (1/15/05)

16. How do you think your experience as a parent compares with others at your school?
17. Do you feel that the administration is sensitive and responsive to your needs and the needs of your child?
18. How comfortable are you being aggressive about your child's needs?
19. Do you feel like a part of the community of parents at your school?
20. How is this community fostered/what keeps it from existing?

VI: Research Informed Consent

Public v. Private Choice

Purpose:

I am conducting a research study to examine the factors motivating parents' decisions to send their children to public or private schools and the connection to their children's actual experiences. I hope to uncover assumptions held by the parents' about the social environment at the school and then see if these perceptions are true.

Procedures:

Participation in this study will involve one interview and possible follow-up questions for clarification. I anticipate that your involvement will require an hour.

Risks and Benefits:

Participants in this study may experience some emotional discomfort regarding the nature of the questions, although you are free to decline to answer. Although this study will not benefit you personally, we hope that our results will add to the knowledge about school choice and the public and private systems in the United States.

Confidentiality:

All of your responses will be held in confidence. Only the researchers involved in this study and those responsible for research oversight will have access

to the information you provide. Please note, however, that unlike information you provide to your doctor or lawyer, the investigator can be compelled by a court to disclose this information

Voluntary Participation:

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You are free to decline to participate, to end participation at any time for any reason, or to refuse to answer any individual question.

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The Problem of structural ambiguity in psycho-linguistics

Leyla Musa Khanbutayeva

Abstract *The present article is devoted to the investigation of structural ambiguity in English. Investigation has been carried out on specifically selected sentences containing structural ambiguity.*
Ambiguity is the inner feature of every language. We come across the process of ambiguity in both spoken and written discourse. Ambiguity has been a topic of interest not only for linguists but also for psycho-linguists. The interest in the study of the decoding of the meaning of the sentence can be considered a new sphere in general linguistics.
In linguistics mainly four types of ambiguity - lexical, categorical, grammatical and referential can be observed.

Keywords: *psycholinguistics, structural ambiguity, acoustic parameters of syntagm, syntactic units, experimental-phonetic method*

Received *14.03.2018*
Accepted *16.05.2018*

DOI *10:116.MES/45-86.101*

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Introduction

The research of the term "ambiguity" has been a central problem not only in linguistics, but also in psycholinguistics. "Many psycholinguistic studies have noted that sentences which are ambiguous, exhibit processing differences in a variety of tasks. For example, they may differ from normal unambiguous sentences in such tasks by usually taking longer to process or deal with in the manner prescribed by the experimental task" (Kess J.K. 1981, 3).

Ambiguous sentences being more difficult to deal with, as various experiments play a great role in psycholinguistics, we made an attempt to give a detailed psycholinguistic explanation of structurally ambiguous sentences by means of phonetical-experimental method.

Nowadays experimental-phonetic method is considered to be one of the most valuable methods in linguistics. Application of experimental-phonetic method in decoding the sentence intonation gives us an opportunity to express our thoughts, emotions. Being a powerful means of communication intonation plays a great role in the creation of phonological, pragmatic, rhetorical and stylistic nature of the sentences. Conveying the information of an utterance, it highlights the most important content of the utterance and gives an opportunity to distinguish the rheme

and theme.

Being an important element of a sentence, intonation helps to express different kinds of emotions of the speaker, through coding and decoding the content of the sentences. It is impossible to imagine a sentence without intonation.

The main objective of our research is to analyze the structurally ambiguous sentences: to give experimental-phonetic analysis of their use in communication.

2. Scope of study

The main point in investigating of structural ambiguity is to find an answer to "what goes with what" [Andriani H. (2009)]. To understand the meaning of a sentence, first of all it is necessaty to parse the words within the composition of a sentence.

Parsing, being a complex process involves a number of features: 1) analysis of sentences of different types; 2) analysis of ambiguity (Daniel R. 1997, 367).

It is necessary to note that any simple sentence in itself possesses the ability to express a temporary ambiguity. The initial part of the sentence gives a way to a number of interpretations. For instance, / The secretary applauded for his efforts was soon promoted //.

At first view, despite the fact that the word "applauded" gives us the impression of the main predicate of the main sentence, it does not truely justify itself in this function. The main predicate of the sentence is "was promoted" and sentences of such types are called as the "garden-path" sentences.

As to some reasons "garden-path" sentences cause interest for the investigators. Such sentences on one hand sometimes stress a certain thought, but on the other hand they bear double meaning (ambiguity). Putting it in other words, one does not exibit a neutral approach to the sentence which is heard or read.

What are the factors causing parsing? First of all it is necessary to note that parsing makes its impacts on the secondary words and different morphemes used in a sentence.

For instance, while reading the sentence /The secretary applauded for his efforts was soon promoted.// many a man considers that "the secretary" is a woman and she applauses him (the man) for the work which he demonstrates. From here we can make a conclusion that in parsing semantic factors show their impact as well.

The scope of study explores the investigation of structural ambiguity and its experimental-phonetic analysis serves to show precise understanding of the syntactic content of the sentence. In written discourse, depending on the type of the ambiguity there are a number of linguistic techniques that can be applied, such as, punctuation, local, minimal attachment, word order.

Touching upon the studied by us the problem Dallin D. Oaks writes: "Many expressions that would be ambiguous in print are not ambiguous in speech because we can clarify them through super segmental features, such as intonation, pause and stress. Still, even when these super segmental features are present, their role in classifying meaning can be neutralized when listeners allow themselves to mitigate these cues" (Dallin D.O. 2010, 390).

Dallin D. Oaks in the above mentioned research work speaks about different

fields of ambiguity and his thoughts on structural ambiguity give us ground to investigate this problem thoroughly from phonetical point of view.

3. Research methodology

In the process of investigation structurally ambigiuos sentences are analyzed. For the successful realization of the goal of investigation a number of methods including structural-semantic and experimental analysis methods in the synchrone aspect are used.

4. Nature of variation of structurally ambigious sentences

The phenomenon of "ambiguity" is one of the most quarrelsome problems in linguistics. The existence of ambiguity in the language is not new. Ambiguity exists in all levels of the language, such as in phonemic, morphemic, lexemic, phrasemic and proposemic levels. Ambiguity is characteristic for all languages and every ambiguious word in the language has its own characteristic feature.

In linguistics we come across four types of ambiguity: lexical, categorial, grammatical and referential. Lexical ambiguity refers to homonymy and polysemy. Generally in linguistics there exist some arguments concerning this problem. According some theorists homonymy is likely to create ambiguity, but polysemantic words and homonymic pairs create ambiguity.

Joseph F.Kess, Ronald A. Hoppe distinguish three types of ambiguity: lexical, surface structure and deep or underlying levels of linguistic structure. According to them lexical ambiguous sentences are the result of a word or word sequence having more than one distinct meaning. Surface structure ambiguity reflects two distinct syntactic groupings of adjacent words in the string. Deep structure ambiguity, on the other hand, reflects different logical relational sets between words or phrases in the sentence (Kess J.F.1981, p. 30).

More than one syntactic interpretations are possible in structurally ambiguious sentences. Structural ambiguity creates confusion, i.e. in the context sometimes it is difficult to differ the word as to what parts of speech it belongs to - a noun or a verb.

"Linguists have noted that an understanding of communication requires that we look at not only the structure of an utterance, but also at the function that utterance has in discourse, in other words, the "speech act" that is being conveyed" (Dallin D.O. 2010, 27).

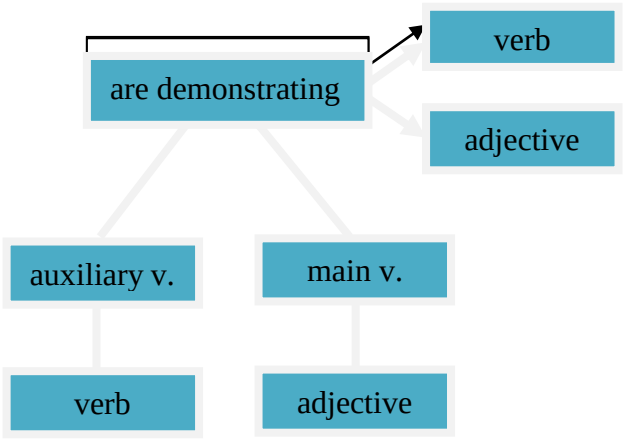
For instance, in the sentence /Can you pass me the book?// directive speech act is performed rather than asking a question. Here the answer "yes" is not expected, only passing the book is expected.

Spoken language is more clearer than the written language. It is difficult to differentiate the ambiguity in spoken language. "Generally when one uses ambiguous words or sentences, one does not consciously entertain their unintended meanings, although there is psycholinguistic evidence that when one hears ambiguous language, generally its ambiguity is not intended" (Khawalda I.M. and Saidat E. M-Al. (2012)).

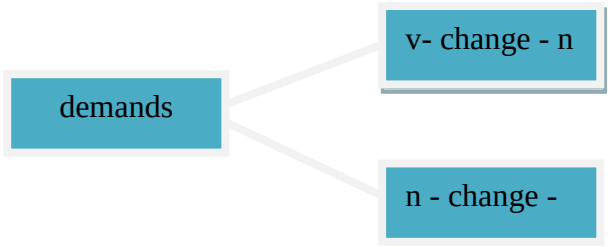
Only in written form the exact or the intended meaning of the sentence can be clarified. The meaning of the sentences / I saw the actor's performance // or / I saw the actors performance // is clear only in written form, in spoken form they

lead to confusion.

Ambiguity may exist between verbs and clauses. In the sentence / The students are demonstrating // the word "demonstrating" can be understood as a verb or as an adjective. If the word "demonstrating" is understood as a verb, then the form of the auxiliary verb "to be" (are) must be the main part of the sentence. In this case the sentence must consist of S+V. If the word "demonstrating" is understood as an adjective, then "are" is the main verb and the sentence part will consist of a subject+verb+subject complement (S+V+S/c).



In the sentence / The University demands change // the word "change" can be understood as a noun and as a verb.



If "demands" is a verb, "change" is a noun, the word order of the sentence must be CVO, if "demands" is a plural noun, then "change" is the verb and the word order is SV. It shows that these sentences are ambiguous and have two structural interpretations.

In structurally ambiguous sentences tense and aspect categories also play a great role. Present Progressive is formed by means of the auxiliary verb "to be + v + ing" and the main verb is mainly dynamic in this tense form. But there are cases that –ing causes confusion, i.e. –ing- gerund forming ending, -ing noun forming suffix, -ing adjective forming suffix, -ing –preposition forming suffix. For instance, hammering – n., aspiring –adj., notwithstanding – preposition.

For example, /She gave the room a good sweeping// - sweeping – verbal noun.

The use of the suffix -ing as a gerund or as a participle depends on the syntactical function and their positions in the sentence.

For instance, in the sentence /The passengers suggested telephoning the hospitals before asking the police to look for him //. The words "telephoning" and "asking" are gerunds.

In the sentence / Writing his name in the list, a familiar voice attracted my attention //. – "writing" is a participle (Khanbutayeva L.M. 2007, 68-71).

B.Ilyish spoke of the suffix –ing forms as of two different homonymous forms: the gerund and the participle. According to him, there is no external difference between the two sets (they are complete homonyms), the question may arise whether there is reason enough to say that there are two different sets of forms, that is whether it could not be argued that there is only one set of forms (we might then call them the suffix – ing forms), which is a different context, acquires different shades of meaning and performs different syntactical functions" (B.Ilyish 1971, 135).

Structural ambiguity is found among perfect tenses but they are not as common as progressive tense forms.

In ambiguous sentences the use of adverbials also plays a great role. For instance, in the Present Perfect tense in this sentence / I have done my work // the time of doing the action is not reported, it only shows that the action took place before the moment of speaking or the completed action.

To differentiate the homophones is also possible in ambiguous sentences. For instance, the sentence / They can fish // is ambiguous in writing. "Can" may denote modality, otherwise it can be used as a part of a compound verbal modal predicate, if it (can) is a notional verb, then "fish" will be a noun.

"Ambiguity is a property of either sentences or perhaps the speech acts in which the sentences are used. There is no guarantee that every utterance of an ambiguous sentence will result in an uncertainty regarding what was expressed or meant by the speaker" (https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ambiguity).

5. Experimental, phonetic analysis of the structurally ambiguous sentences.

In this research three structurally ambiguous sentences are analyzed with the experimental-phonetic method.

(1)I am taking a course in Modern English Grammar. This sentence can be interpreted like: a) I am taking a course in Grammar of Modern English. b) I am taking a course in Modern Grammar of English.

(2) Enough rest and exercise will help you recover. This sentence can be understood like: a) enough rest and enough exercise will help you recover.

b) Exercise and enough rest will help you recover.

(3) He left her in tears. In this sentence the following interpretations are possible:

a) In tears he left her, or He left her while he was in tears. b) He left her while she was in tears.

The grammatical form of the sentence consists of the formal-syntactic and intonation aspects. The grammatical form of the sentence is its scheme, i.e. the indication of the thought by means of the language. Intonation is the grammatical form

of the syntactic organization of the sentence. F.Y.Veysalli explaining the determination of a sentence stresses the role of intonation as well. He writes: "A sentence is such a structure in which intonation possesses its own role" (Veysalli F.Y. 2013, 226).

Intonation is considered a prosodic means, ensuring the formation of a sentence syntactically. As to this reason intonation is considered to be a syntactic means formulating internal relations among the words, composing the sentences or among the sentences, setting up the text. It is necessary to stress the fact that syntactic structure formulating the internal relations possesses the ability to express the foreign links of distinctive language units in conformity with context.

For instance, in English the sentence /I am taking a course in modern English Grammar// [aı æm `teıkıŋ ə `kɔ:s ın mɔdə(r)n `ıŋglıʃ græmə(r)] has been put to the experimental-phonetic analysis in different structures. In this sentence the word combination /modern English Grammar/ in different phonetic structures has been analyzed. Generally the announcers have spent to the pronounciation of the sentence 3.0825 m/san. In the first variant the acoustic parameters of the sentence have been estimated like that:

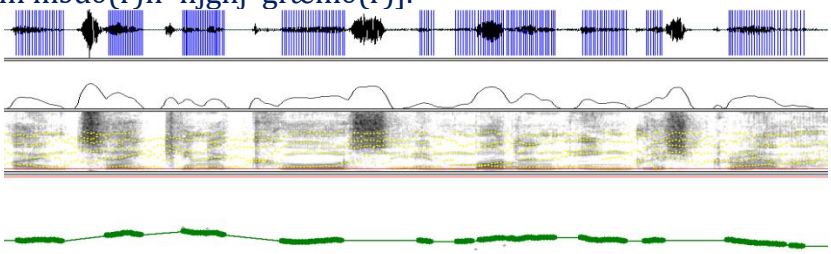
Main tone frequency: 169-163-193-165-180-161-158-181-160-173-161-142-130 hs;

intensity: 62-59-67-61-60-63-56-73-66-61-62-64-54 db;

time: 92-73-132-76-78-160-75-103-91-79-74-98-67 m/sec (see: Graph 1.1.).

Figure1:

The ossillogram and the spectogram of the sentence will be: [aı æm `teıkıŋ ə `kɔ:s ın mɔdə(r)n `ıŋglıʃ græmə(r)].



[aı æm `teıkıŋ ə `kɔ:s ın mɔdə(r)n `ıŋglıʃ græmə(r)]

In the sentence /I'm taking a course in grammar of modern English// [aı æm `teıkıŋ ə `kɔ:s ın mɔdə(r)n `ıŋglıʃ græmə(r)] the duration of the announcer's middle pronounciation is 3.1256 m/san. In this variant the acoustic parameters of the sentence have been shown like that:

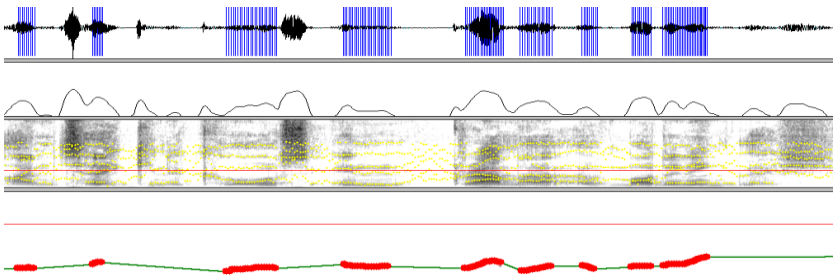
Main tone frequency: 161-158-185-163-168-161-173-197-173-169-173-170-185-172 hs;

intensity: 65-61-68-64-66-62-59-74-65-58-67-64-60-57 db;

time: 108-77-130-70-78-75-146-73-98-102-70-81-63-82 m/sec (see: Graph 1.1).

Figure 2:

The ossillogram and the spectogram of the sentence will be: [aı æm `teıkıŋ ə `kɔ:s ın græmə(r) əv mɔdə(r)n `ıŋglıʃ]



[aı æm `teıkıŋ ə `kɔ:s ın mɔdə(r)n græmə(r) əv ıŋglıʃ]

In the variant of the analyzed sentence /I'm taking a course in modern grammar of English// [aı æm `teıkıŋ ə `kɔ:s ın mɔdə(r)n græmə(r) əv ıŋglıʃ] the indicators of the acoustic parameters according to the intonation contour doesn't differ from the indicators of other variants.

Main tone frequency: 193-182-167-170-161-148-193-136-146-142-126-150-123 hs;

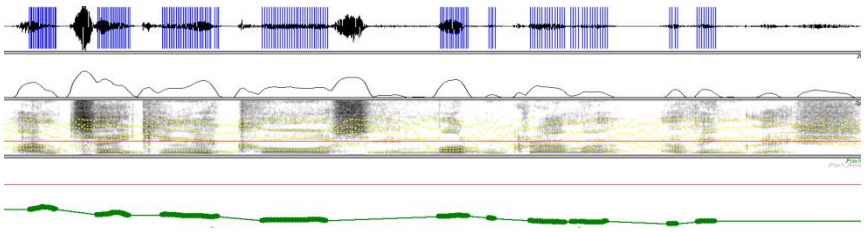
intensity: 67-65-71-63-62-61-71-54-63-57-59-59-65 db;

time: 92-72-128-67-152-60-108-58-99-73-74-64-83 m/sec (see: Graph 1.1).

The syntactic arrangement of the sentence is not closely connected with its intonation: the same intonation can be observed in different syntactic structures. According to the result of the acoustic parameters the general intonation of the sentence is not completely connected with the lexical composition. The proof lies in the fact that the three variants of the same sentence are marked with falling tone characteristic to the declarative sentences, namely, they are pronounced with the intonation of completion of the sentence. Maximum tone frequency is conspicuous in all three variants in the starting syllables: 193-183-193 hs. It is enough to look through intonogramms of the sentences (see: Figures: 1, 2, 3).

Figure 3:

The ossillogram and the spectogram of the sentence will be [aı æm `teıkıŋ ə `kɔ:s ın mɔdə(r)n græmə(r) əv ıŋglıʃ] .



[aı æm `teıkıŋ ə `kɔ:s ın mɔdə(r)n græmə(r) əv ıŋglıʃ] .

Graph 1.1

Acoustic parameters / Syllables										0	1	2	3	4
main														

	tone frequency (hs)	69	63	93	65	80	61	58	81	60	73	61	42	30	
	intensity(db)	2	9	7	1	0	3	6	3	6	1	2	4	4	
	time (t)	2	3	32	6	8	60	5	03	1	9	4	8	7	
II utterance	main tone frequency (hs)	61	58	85	63	68	61	73	97	73	69	71	70	85	72
	intensity (db)	5	1	8	4	6	2	9	4	5	8	7	4	0	7
	time (t)	08	7	30	0	8	5	46	3	8	02	0	1	3	2
III utterance	main tone frequency (hs)	93	82	67	70	61	48	93	36	46	42	26	50	23	
	intensity (db)	7	5	1	3	2	1	1	4	3	7	9	9	5	
	time (t)	2	2	28	7	52	0	08	8	9	3	4	4	3	

In different structural variants of the sentence /I am taking a course in modern English Grammar// an average tone frequency had been 157-177-145 hs, dynamic parameters – 63-82-80 db, an average pronounciation speed 85-65-61 m/sec (see: Figure 4).

We must mention that in all analyzed variants the descending intonation contour has been realized. The fact that maximum fall of the syntactic structure is conditioned by the main tone frequency is noted by F.Veysally as well: "In the methodical description the peak may be placed at the beginning or in the middle, but the general movement of direction of the main tone remains as a falling tone" (Veysalli F. 1970,131-134).

In the sentence /Enough rest and exercise will help you recover// [ɪ′nʌf rest ænd eksə(r)saɪz wɪl help ju: rɪ:`kʌvə(r)] acoustic parameters have been noted like that:

Main tone frequency: 154-201-181-154-165-146-154-192-161-164-150-134-121 hs;

intensity: 63-72-74-58-63-56-63-68-62-57-58-61-56 db;

time: 80-90-96-70-80-71-167-76-80-85-96-74-86 m/sec (see: Graph 1.2).

Scheme 1.

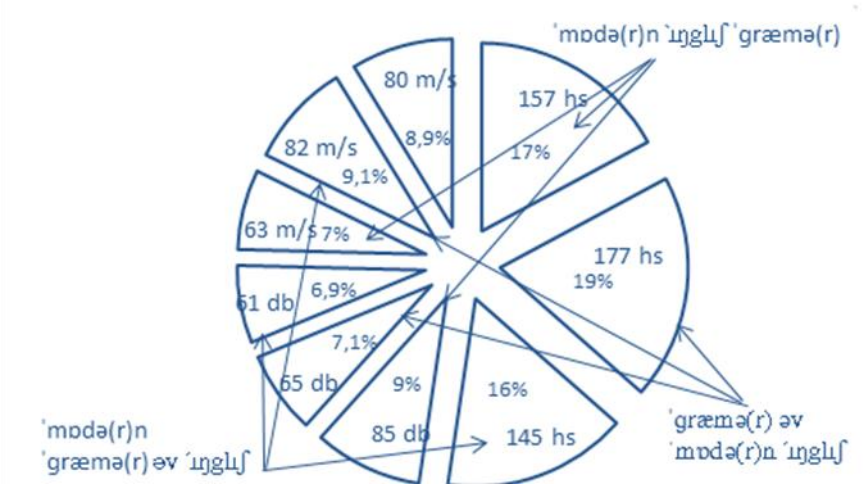
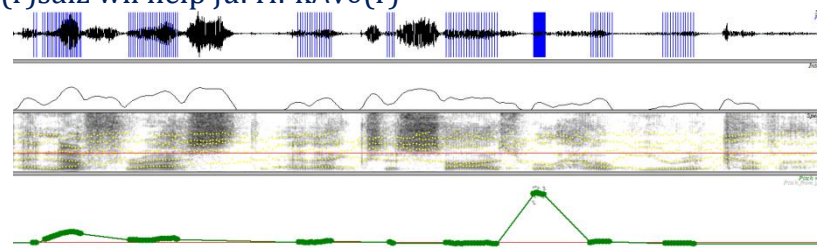


Figure 4:

The ossillogram and the spectogram of the sentence will be: [ɪˈnʌf rest ænd eksə(r)saɪz wɪl help ju: rɪːˋkʌvə(r)



[ɪˈnʌf rest ænd eksə(r)saɪz wɪl help ju: rɪːˋkʌvə(r)]

In the same sentence acoustic parameters are the followings: /Enough rest and enough exercise will help you recover// [ɪˈnʌf rest ænd ɪˈnʌf eksə(r)saɪz wɪl help ju: rɪːˋkʌvə(r)].

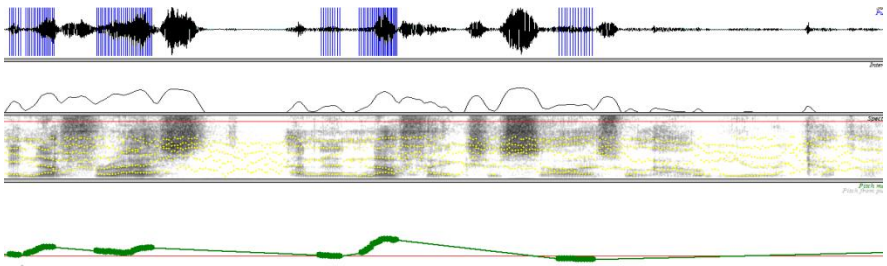
Main tone frequency: 154-183-197-150-150-208-177-154-147-130-140-150-153-132 hs;

intensity: 62-69-72-60-56-70-61-59-58-56-57-55-56-54 db;

time: 78-91-98-78-102-109-86-70-156-73-76-90-67-84 m/sec (see: Graph 1.2).

Figure 5:

The ossillogram and the spectogram of the sentence will be: [ɪˈnʌf rest ænd eksə(r)saɪz wɪl help ju: rɪːˋkʌvə(r)]



[[ɪ′nʌf rest ænd eksə(r)saɪz wɪl help ju: rɪ:`kʌvə(r)]

In the third variant of the sentence /Exercise and enough rest will help you recover// [eksə(r)saɪz ænd ɪ′nʌf rest wɪl help ju: rɪ:`kʌvə(r)] the acoustic parameters are the following:

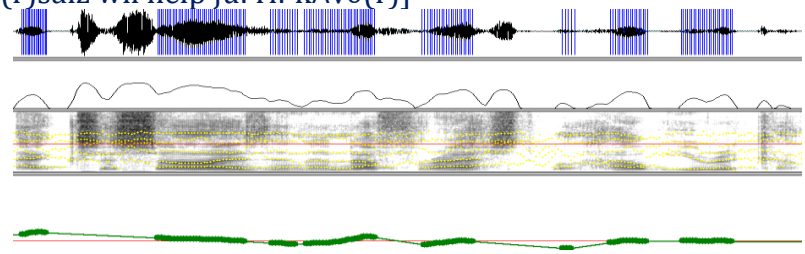
Main tone frequency: 189-177-193-161-164-178-169-128-149-165-149-143-128 hs;

intensity: 64-60-74-58-59-69-69-55-67-64-63-59-55 db;

time: 102-77-170-79-83-88-104-62-81-102-70-75-70 m/sec (see: Graph 1.2).

Figure 6:

The ossillogram and the spectogram of the sentence will be: [ɪ′nʌf rest ænd eksə(r)saɪz wɪl help ju: rɪ:`kʌvə(r)]



[ɪ′nʌf rest ænd eksə(r)saɪz wɪl help ju: rɪ:`kʌvə(r)]

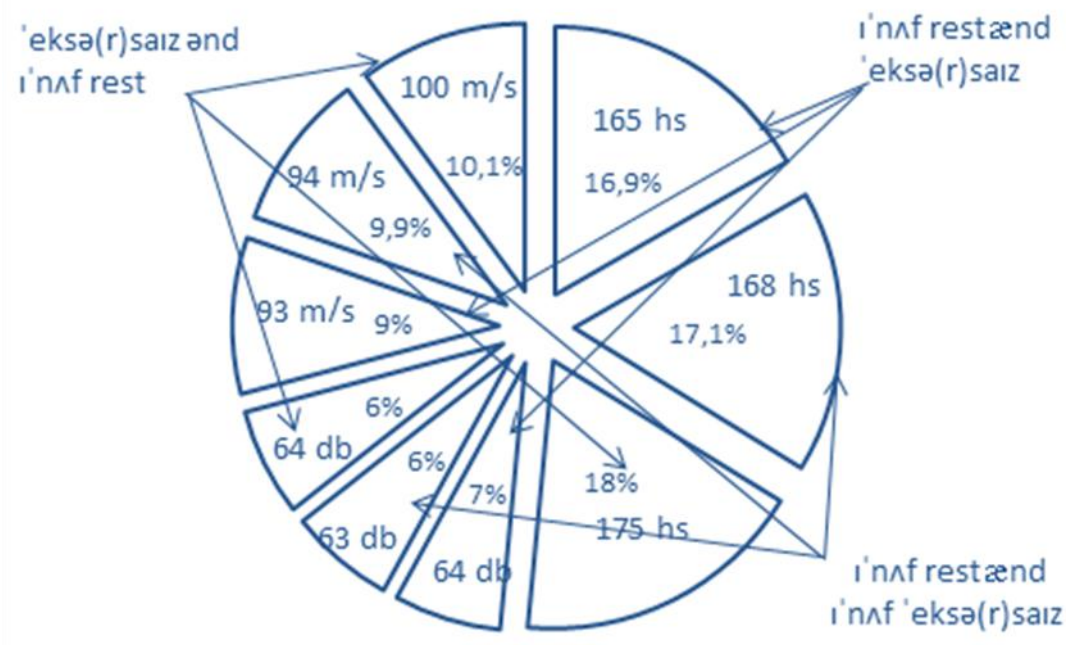
The results of ossillographic analysis in all three variants acoustic variants of parameters speak of the intonation of the declarative sentences. In all three variants, melodic contour all through the sentence is in the discending direction. In the first sentence tone frequency is 201-221 hs, in the second sentence it is 208-132 hs, but in the third sentence it is comparatively 193-128 hs. In the performance of the both announcers melodic peak is situated at the beginning of the sentence.

Graph 1.2

Acoustic parameters / Syllables											0	1	2	3	4
I utter-	Main tone frequency (hs)	54	01	81	54	65	46	54	92	61	54	50	34	21	
	intensity (db)	3	2	4	8	3	6	3	8	2	7	8	1	6	

	time (t)	0	0	6	0	0	1	67	6	0	5	6	4	6	
II utterance	Main tonefrequency(hs)	54	83	97	50	50	08	77	54	47	30	40	50	53	32
	intensity (db)	2	9	2	0	6	0	1	9	8	6	7	5	6	4
	time (t)	8	1	8	8	02	09	6	0	56	3	6	0	7	4
III utterance	Main tone frequen-cy(hs)	89	77	93	61	64	78	69	28	49	65	49	43	28	
	Intensity (db)	4	0	4	8	9	9	9	5	7	4	3	9	5	
	time (t)	02	7	70	9	3	8	04	2	1	02	0	5	0	

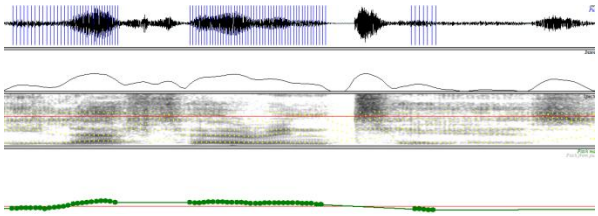
Scheme



In the ossillographic analyzed sentence the acoustic parameters are like that: /He left her in tears// [hɪ: `left hɜ:(r) ɪn `teə(r)z].

Main tone frequency: 154-195-171-166-138 hs;
intensity: 58-77-70-65-58 db;
time: 103-93-115-75-211 m/sec (see: Graph 1.3).

Figure 7:
The ossillogramme and the spectogramme of the sentence [hɪ: `left hɜ:(r) ɪn `teə(r)z]



[hı: `left hɜ:(r) ın `teə(r)z].

The acoustic parameters of the same sentence are the following: /In tears he left her// [ın `teə(r)z hı: `left hɜ:(r)].

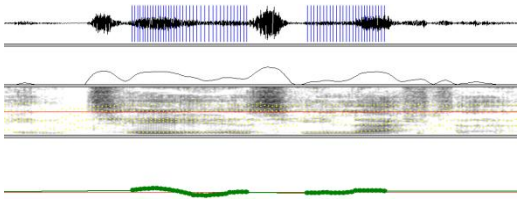
Main tone frequency: 151-189-150-161-135 hs;

intensity: 62-71-52-67-53 db;

time: 74-146-90-93-120 m/sec (see: Graph 1.3).

Figure 8:

The ossillogram and the spectogram of the sentence will be: [ın `teə(r)z hı: `left hɜ:(r)].



[ın `teə(r)z hı: `left hɜ:(r)].

In the analysed sentence /He left her while she was in tears// [hı: `left hɜ:(r) waıl ʃı: wɔz ın `teə(r)z] the acoustic indications have found their reflection in the following marks:

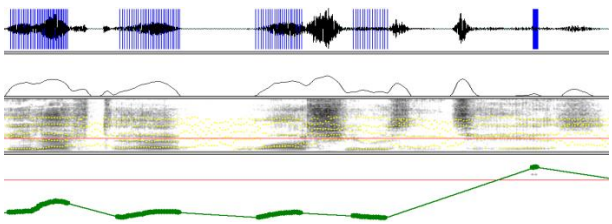
Main tone frequency: 177-212-168-152-142-152-168-153 hs;

intensity: 67-70-67-61-57-60-53-57 db;

time: 116-164-90-78-86—78-176 m/sec (see: Graph 1.3).

Figure 9:

The ossillogramme and the spectogramme of the sentence will be like that: [hı: `left hɜ:(r) waıl ʃı: wɔz ın `teə(r)z]



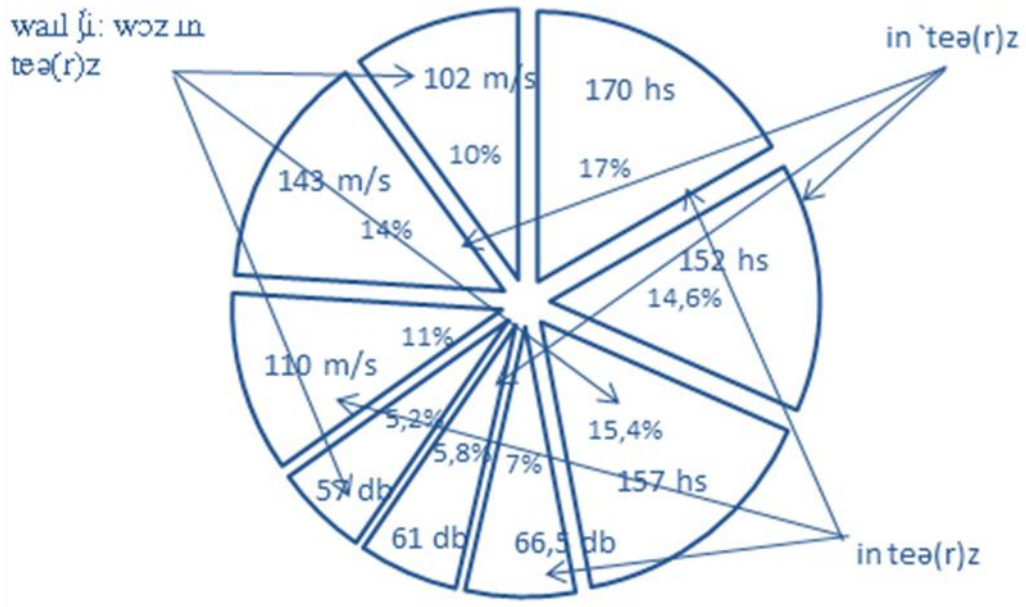
[hı: `left hɜ:(r) waıl ʃı: wɔz ın `teə(r)z]

Graph 1.2

Acoustic parameters / Syllables								
Main tone frequency								

	(hs)	54	95	71	66	38			
	intensity (db)	8	7	0	5	8			
	time (t)	03	3	15	5	11			
II utter-ance	Main tone frequency (hs)	51	89	50	61	35			
	Intensity (db)	2	1	2	7	3			
	time (t)	4	46	0	3	20			
III utter-ance	Main tone ffrequency (hs)	77	12	68	52	42	52	68	53
	intensity (db)	7	0	7	1	7	0	3	7
	time (t)	6	16	64	0	8	6	8	76

Scheme 3.



In two variants of this sentence acoustic components attracted to analysis must be obligatorily placed in the final position. Only in one variant it must be realized at the beginning of the sentence.

Distinctive positions in the sentence structures have also found their reflections in the acoustic parameters of the analyzed components.

For example, the indication of the average tone frequency (while 170hs at the beginning of the sentence) at the end of the sentence are marked as 152 hs and 157 hs. Intensiveness at the beginning of sentence is 66,5 db, but at the end of the

sentence it is 61 db and 57 db. The average speed of pronounciation of the announcers at the beginning of the sentence is 110 m/sec., but at the end it is 143 and 101 m/sec.

It is necessary to mention that the acoustic parameters in all three variants reflect the realization of the intonation of completion. In all three sentences the least tone level lies on the last syllable of the closing syntagm 135-138-153 hs. Lingering of the speed of articulation is characteristic not only for the sentences consisting of one syntagm. The intemporal analyses of sentences with one syntagm indicates the slow level of the tempo.

So, it becomes clear from the syntagmatic analysis, based on the distribution of the vowels within the syntagm that in the terminal syntagms the solving of the tempo bases upon an objective law (Zinder L.R. 1979, 276).

6. Conclusion

The results gained from the discussed issues can be generalized as follows:

It is necessary to note that the problem of ambiguity is not a new problem at all. As it is mentioned in the article, a number of scientists have devoted their research works to the problem of ambiguity. But their approaches to the problem cardinally differ from one another. In the formulation of ambiguity grammatical means along with syntactic structure play a great role as well. As an example to the given thesis the suffix “ing” has been illustrated in the article. The suffix “ing” having different grammatical meanings (as –ing + gerund, -ing + participle I, -ing + verbal noun) also change the semantic meanings.

Being the inner specific peculiarity of every language and a fact of linguistic study, ambiguity takes place when the faulty arrangement of words and phrases or the omissions of a necessary word occur. Each language has its peculiar feature in expressing ambiguity.

Experimentally analyzed sentences show that the same intonation can be observed in different syntactic structures and it proves that the general intonation contour does not directly depend on the lexical content.

Maximum tone frequency and descending intonation contour are observed in all analyzed sentences.

All the disputable problems have been tested through ossillogram and spectrogram to prove the truth fullness of the uttered theses.

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Influence of the ability of to live

Mryiam Falles, H.

Abstract *Modern time of the social development demands of forming the perfect personality and harmoniously. This is also demands of industry society post – and dynamics of the passage to industry society. Reflected in future concepts post - of the industry society (it much called information or knowledge society) its main principle is development of man potential and rational usage from him. So, the man of new society must be comprehensively developed personality.*

Keywords: *Ability, Influence*

Received *10.04.2018*
Accepted *16.06.2018*

DOI *10:116.MES/45-86.101*

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Introduction

The first period of the formation of personality is connected with family and school. If we take into account that the child spends 2, 3 years of his conscious age period in the family, but 9, 11 years in the school, we shall see that in forming child and juveniles as personality the importance of the school and completely the educational process is very big. From this point of view some features of forming as personality of the juveniles, in training process learning of ability of to live is turned to necessity to them.

Specificity, benefits, interests of students and investigation of appropriation is considered the source of sociology. An educational year (in 11-14 years) meets to youth years. Essential features of this age period will be commented below. Youth years are said to those years that man is between adult time from adolescence. If we speak in otherwise the transitional period is the time of separating from childhood and man become independent finishing the childhood time and he takes youth responsibility on himself and gets older gradually. At that age period the youth meet with two main problems. Older parents in age them, adult persons and to create relations with adults and himself, society and as independent man to learn and cognize social environment, want to think over behavior in the relation with them. In that period in their behavior sometimes would signs of childhood, youth and bigness. In that age period usually observed boldness in the youth. The youth period is the stage of passing from childhood to bigness. This period has dif-

ferent features:

First, development of the brain nerves happens and that show yourself in the behavior, brain and authority. Second, it is the growing from physical side and here changes body system, face and face profile. Third, occur sexual signs; passion of creative work and in this meaning occur new behavior. Fourth, "self-esteem" occurs in the man and the man considers you big and he becomes independent. Fifth, he shows himself as a big in community and culture. Sixth, to pay attention was to behavior in relation with community. In prolonged youth periods, usually in 12- 22 ages increase sexual signs, already occur economic and social hierarchy occur difference of geographical point. As these years, a few long this period may divide into stages, when we say adolescence we consider the periods a man from 14- 15 years to 17 year. The first years of the adolescence time are 12-14-15 ages. Middle years of the adolescence time are counted 14-15-17 ages and the last years of adolescence time are 17-22 ages.

As the first years of adolescence time fell to school years it is necessary to attach special importance to education. The corporal development of coming of age the youth are accompanies with occurring of the sexual sign. Sexual majority since childhood till adult periods is the physiological change in the man organism. If we speak in otherwise, sexual maturity is physiological and corporal changes. It began from childhood and it displays in external signs of the man and in his physiological situation. Harmony of corporal development speeds up in this time. The child with changes inside him and with reflection new corporal signs falls to tiredness. Height, weight of the juvenile quickly increases [1; 2]. At that time increase the sexual sense and gravitation. The endurance of juveniles when they growing from point of view quality and quantity is continues to develop. In difference of childhood mental ability of juveniles increase quickly and quite comfortable. From point of view quality mental development of the juveniles assumes quite vital importance. Daniel Ketting claims that in juveniles have 5 brain sense. We give their commentary below:

1. Thought about possible. Differently from children of secondary school they approach to everything on the basis of his observations. The juveniles also inform their own opinions to other opportunities and probabilities.

2. Optimistic thought. Adolescence is such time in that he thinks the future works and his aged times. If approach and ask to one pupil of the secondary school what he will do on rest-day. Perhaps, he will answer so: he will go to uncle to play with children there. In his thought not any other variant. But the same question if we put to juvenile we shall get answer so: if the weather will be good he will go to suburban with his friends. But if the weather will not good maybe he will stay at home and study lessons. If he has no patience he will go to uncle.

3. Thought on the basis of hypotheses. Differently from secondary people juveniles thought is based on hypotheses more. Usually they talk far from reality. It doesn't come to mind of the pupil of secondary school that he introduce the events with arraying.

4. Considered thought. Usually there were confusion thoughts in juveniles mind and they say not unique thoughts but different. Such young pulled off from general rules and live with suitable rules to themselves. So, they compare you general rules and they take out result. On the basis of the result they discuss [4, 23; 7].

5. Thought on the basis of agreeing. Juveniles already look at public relations, politics, moral problems and religious with their outlook with new glance. They try to find ideal variant in solving problems that we noted and move in right way. When juveniles reach to formal period they already have new information's. At that period the youth thought undergone changes as previous and they already cognize a number of things, previous hypothesis and substitute –probabilities with new truths.

In this stage thinking develops in conformity to logic. As, in 7-11 years if the child approaches to things logical in this stage child already analyses information in his brain and put forward different hypotheses, probabilities. He discuss his private considerations and

Decisive judgments' likes a scientist. Decisive thinking has its own influence to public problems. In this stage speaking from private thinking, was discussing about public problems. Piaje says that, juveniles in that age period in the attitude are idealists to that problems. As justice, love and freedom notions already causes to think them. But they can't choose objectivity in this area yet. About these problems in their discussions, differently from adults they were much more dreamer. Because the youth don't know well world works yet.

It is necessary to know difficulties coming from abstract thinking. Thoughts of youth developed and reaches to such level that they understand occurred happenings, grieves, and deprivations in their life. Such youth compared different variants in their thoughts and take out result. It may be that they point out a defect everything at home and in the school even may be that they are not reconcile with existing realities. The ideals in their thoughts occurs in the abstract thinking. It separates them from reality and increases interest to ideals. And it caused for their rebelliousness. The theory of the youth considerate himself clever from everybody is created by David Alkind [5;6;7].

Persons who reached to full age don't build relations as juveniles and their attitude to their parents and moral relations between juveniles is different. In the attitude to juveniles and parents the private attitude of the persons which come of age also comes forward from rely on him. To rely on themselves is connected with biological factors in central brain. Growing gradually, changing in face and also occurring of the sexual signs caused for relying on themselves. For example, before if the juvenile not interested in physical maturity now he thinks about his physical maturity and that forms the sense of relying on himself. But gradually the sense of relying on weakens, juveniles already have wish to public relations and they gradually increase development of public relations. These brought to diminishing egoism in them. The first step of growing was the youth beginning from public relations. So from that time the youth separate from adolescence and be-

havior as adults. At that age period individuals attach more importance to raisin friends. For example, in the conversation suitable time in the clothes, hair style, in the attitude to art and etc. they attach special importance to themselves. In that way the juveniles receive sexual and non-sexual information. Forming the personality of juveniles, features of self-esteem, dignity and selfishness is connected with development of cognition. Cognition of individuals is such a term which used to express all features of the man. If we speak in otherwise this expression it expresses the private consciousness of man. The term itself expresses the corporal and private features, abilities, costs and concerning to special sections. Development of the personality forms from the first childhood. 2-6 monthly children distinguish themselves gradually and their external world from others. In 1,5-2 years children display their personalities, they consider themselves the important person of environments. Such situations are observed most of all in 3 years old. The mental development of the children begin Fathali Lavasani, 1991 in the pre-school years and they show themselves in two ways: "common self-esteem" and "private self-esteem" The selfishness of man is mean that, man distinguishes yourself from others. The others group us in according with role in their life. Husband, father, child, wife, teacher and etc, they group us on the base of our personal qualities. For example, in this style: are adroit, glad, cheerful, shy, fanatic and etc. Plenty of time they group people according to their corporal circumstances: fat, thin, beautiful, and ugly and etc. Methods of all this grouping that we were noted show to people their place. And that create in them sense of satisfying. Dignity is that how we in general estimate ourselves. Or how we show ourselves. From the first time it may seen that being satisfied and the sense of dignity of the youth is the main problem in forming their personality. It is also the motive power in ability of to live. Dignity is the sign of self-consciousness. Majority of the juveniles look for their ideals in developing of personalities. In the result of this the juveniles feel good or vice versa. In that years juveniles attain suitable behavior forms with getting experience and learning some behavior forms from others. Such cases prove the dignity in juveniles and shows development of the personality in them. Sense of personality is very firm feeling and with this the man express his existence. Thus, passing the adolescence time each young ask a question to yourself: "Who am I ?" and he think for a while surround this question. This time is called "the seeking of personality" period of adolescence time. So, juvenile stay in front of this question, he takes responsibility of private life and asks himself: How I must live? Which job I must choose? How I must live the future sexual and family life? Which confidents and costs I must live? Such thoughts press him for a long time and he search the answer to question "Who am I ?" and pass the adolescence time and after earning the life experience then he find answer to question and say: " I am such a personality "[9, 10].

Saying such personal qualities from personality in juveniles and when they gradually get older they already mean main importance. Cognizing himself was choosing a way and definite costs maybe difficult for juveniles. Because, their

choice circle are very wide and stay in compulsion to choose different kind of choices. Some moral difficulties of juveniles are confusion of development costs and trust. For example, majority of the juveniles in which have problems give way to despair and they don't understand how their behavior influence to others, such juveniles observing to laws is coming from reproaching fearing of the adults. This meets to the previous stage of acceptance decisions. Such juveniles are need of moral and spiritual development. Some of the juveniles are hesitate to the meaning of the life and to moral looks, it is necessary to help such juveniles to learn their moralities and let them cognize their behaviours to others. In that meaning their usage from objective thinking is very useful. Juveniles must know that it is necessary to agree than to reject the others. In the first years of adolescence and in the far years from family on the one hand create relation with spiritual word and on the other hand forms new faith in them. They already approach critically to events which surround them. So, in thoughts of individuals the cultural examples of existing regime, morals and religious finds their place.

Generalizing all we can show below the characteristic features of the development of 11-14 years juveniles and the connection of the training about their ability of to live.

1. Juveniles have come of age and suffer from corporal changes and development already speeds up in them. Sometimes corporal changes of the juveniles were with stresses and pangs. Ability of to live suitable: to ability of to live is concern corporal and psychological health and their composition part are stresses pangs, take care of health, eating an other things which doesn't concern to majority time.

2. Sexual inclination increase and become stronger. Some juveniles suffer from sexual behaviors and agonize. Ability of to live suitable: self-consciousness, forming of sexual personality, sexual morals and mental health.

3. The consciousness is changing of the juveniles. Their thoughts about life, knowing the future before, to make decisions, forming and to look for a way of solution the problems, to make attention to opportunities, learning of the hypotheses- is the basic sign of the consciousness. Ability of to live suitable: the area of to make decisions, the ability of to live about solution of problems.

4. Using from new cognition ability the juveniles forms their public, moral, political and religious relations. Such terms think about justice, love and freedom and think about solution that they permitted to themselves. Ability of to live: moral and creative thought, responsible citizen.

5. Consist of wish and desire then thinking is caused for creating abstract thinking. As in the time of adolescence they already understand that there is deep precipice between their ideals and realities. Maybe this precipice create irateness and rebelliousness in them. Ability of to live suitable: critical and objective thought.

6. The power master persons criticism, self-criticism, to become reserved, high decisions, some double cases, the others actions- all of these are the factors of creating abstract thinking. From these cases to become reserved, isolate the juveniles from environment and they undergo to spiritual emptiness's moving off from

real life. That increase inclination them to drug addiction, they use narcotics and become a drug addict. Ability of to live suitable: critical and objective thought , to make decision.

7. They interest increase to his friends and coevals and that reduce the interest to the family in their life. The falling to such groups are already caused for creating the social consciousness in them. That forms the social consciousness in them. Ability of to live suitable: intercourse adroitness, to guard independence between friends, respect to thought of the others and etc; intercourse between individuals: creating of cordial and friendly relations etc; ability of the creating collaboration and unity.

8. Self- consciousness is the main feature of juveniles. As they day to day becomes perfect and clever. Self-consciousness of the juveniles is tanned by teachers, parents, friends and etc. As they long for informing from themselves. Ability to live suitable: self-consciousness.

9. Acceptance the different methods of costs and to make important decisions is one of the basic problem for life of the juveniles. Ability of to live suitable: to put an aim in the life.

10. In that years psychological constraint is possible to explain with that the juveniles have wish to narcotic and to crimes and that creating despondency in them. Ability of to live suitable: ability of creating intercourse, psychical health, ability of creating intercourse among people.

Conclusion

In this article are commented the socio-psychological problems of forming personality in modern time. The features of age-sex in forming personality, at the same time explored self-consciousness of ability of live of man and role and importance, the author informed his own attitude to this problem.

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Characterization of the status structure of society

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Abstract *Characterization of the status structure of society is a general problem in sociology. For many years sociologists have discussed the issue of how to determine the positions individuals or nuclear families occupy in the status structure of a given society. Several measures have been devised to solve this problem (Blishen 1958, Duncan 1961, U. S. Bureau of the Census 1963, U. S. Bureau of the Census 1964, Blau and Duncan 1967: 117-132, Pineo and Porter*

Keywords: *Syllables, ramification*

Received *14.09.2018*
Accepted *07.11.2018*

DOI *10:116.MES/45-86.101*

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Introduction

But consensus has not been reached on the methodological procedures that best estimate the positions individuals or nuclear families occupy in the status structure of complex industrial, urban societies (Haug and Sussman 1971).

In the early 1940s, I made a systematic examination of status in a middle-western community (Hollingshead 1949). In 1948 I began to study the social structure of the New Haven area, a highly urbanized, industrial community. Two years later, I constructed an index designed to measure social status in this community, based on the use of education, occupation, and area of residence taken from a cross-sectional sample of nuclear families living there. The procedures followed in the development of that index are described in Social Class and Mental Illness (Hollingshead and Redlich 1958: 387-397).

This correlation indicated that area of residence could be dropped as an indicator of status (Hollingshead 1971). In 1957 I published privately a pamphlet demonstrating that education and occupation could be used to construct an index of social status (Hollingshead 1957).

The Two Factor Index of Social Position has been widely used, but, with the social and cultural changes that have occurred since its publication, it stands in

need of revision. The major points of criticism directed toward it are: it is now dated; the range of occupations used is too narrow; and the family's status position is based on data about the head of the household (Haug 1972). The Four Factor Index of Social Status presented here is designed to meet these deficiencies.

II. The New Index

The new index takes into consideration the fact that social status is a multidimensional concept. It is premised upon three basic assumptions: (1) A differentiated, unequal status structure exists in our society. (2) The primary factors indicative of status are the occupation an individual engages in and the years of schooling he or she has completed; other salient factors are sex and marital status. (3) These factors may be combined so that a researcher can quickly, reliably, and meaningfully estimate the status positions individuals and members of nuclear families occupy in our society (Hodge and Treiman 1968).

The four factors used in the new index are: education, occupation, sex, and marital status. Education changes during childhood and youth, but it generally stabilizes in the adult years; the years of schooling an individual has completed are believed to be reflected in acquired knowledge and cultural tastes. Moreover, education is a prerequisite to entry into occupations that carry higher prestige in the social system. Occupation may change in the early years of adult life, but it too tends to become stable as a person grows into the late twenties and on into the thirties. It is presumed to be indicative of the skill and power individuals possess as they perform the maintenance functions in society. The sex of an individual remains constant throughout the course of the life cycle, but it plays an important part in the roles individuals play in the performance of maintenance functions in the society. Marital status defines the relationship of an adult male or female to the family system; it may or may not be stable from the early adult years on into old age. Both males and females participate in the educational process, mainly during the childhood and adolescent years (Ritter and Hargens 1975). Most adult males enter the labor force and fill occupational roles; in contemporary industrial society, more and more females are entering the labor force. Marital status is important in the calculation of social status because of differences in the ways adult family members participate in the economic system (Watson and Barth

1964). One spouse may be a full-time participant in the labor force while the other is not gainfully employed outside the home. However, as the years pass, the proportion of intact nuclear families with both spouses gainfully employed increases. Other families may be headed by a single, widowed, separated, or divorced male or female who is now or in the past has been gainfully employed. This index takes into consideration the several categories.

III. Estimation of Social Status

Information on each of the four factors is easily gathered in an empirical

study. The sex of a respondent is observable directly and is assumed to be what appearances indicate. The other factors require inquiry and evaluation. The use of each factor in the estimation of status is described in the following sections.

A. Marital Status

1. Married and Living with Spouse

a. One spouse, male or female, gainfully employed; other spouse not employed. The estimated social position of this type of nuclear family is calculated on the basis of the employed member's education and occupation.

b. Both spouses gainfully employed. The education and occupation of each spouse is used to estimate the status position of the nuclear family.

It is assumed that the education and occupation of each spouse constitutes an equal proportion of the nuclear family's status. In the absence of theoretical and empirical evidence, a rule of thumb is followed, that is, education and occupation scores for the husband and wife are summed and divided by two. Research has indicated that the prestige of occupations is similar for males and females and that education is essentially the same for males and females in the same occupation (Treiman and Terrill 1975, especially p. 176). In accordance with this finding, the combined score for the two spouses is assigned as the status score of the family.

2. Family Without Spouse

Nuclear families or households may be headed by persons who have never married, divorced persons, persons permanently separated from a spouse, or widowed persons. Households falling into this category present the researcher with various alternatives:

a. When the head has never been married, the status score is calculated by the use of the head's occupation and education.

b. When a divorced person is employed full time in a gainful occupation, the occupation and education of the present head of the household should be used to calculate the status score.

c. When a separated or divorced person is receiving support payments from an absent, present or former, spouse, but is not gainfully employed, the status score should be calculated from the education and occupation of the supporting spouse.

d. When a widow or widower who is not gainfully employed is living on the income from the deceased spouse's estate, the status score should be computed on the education and occupation of the deceased spouse during the time he or she was gainfully employed.

B. Retired Persons

For retired persons, the status score should be calculated from the education and occupation of the person before he, she, or they retired. The factor of marital status should be handled in the same way that it is for nuclear families with one or both spouses active in the labor force.

C. The Educational Factor

The years of school a respondent has completed are scored on a seven-point scale, premised upon the assumption that men and women who possess different levels of education have different tastes and tend to exhibit different behavior patterns. The years of school an individual has completed are grouped in the same way as in the earlier Two Factor Index of Social Position (Hollingshead 1957: 9). The amount of formal education a person has completed is scored as follows:

Level of School Completed	Score
Less than seventh grade	1
Junior high school (9th grade)	2
Partial high school (10th or 11th grade)	3
High school graduate (whether private preparatory, parochial, trade, or public school)	4
Partial college (at least one year) or specialized training	5
Standard college or university graduation	6
Graduate professional training (graduate degree)	7

D. The Occupational Factor

The occupation a person ordinarily pursues during gainful employment is graded on a nine-step scale. Wherever possible, the scale has been keyed to the occupational titles used by the United States Census in 1970, and the three-digit code assigned by the census is given (Greene et al. 1969:

77-84)2. However, the occupational titles assigned by the census are not precise enough to delineate several occupational categories, especially proprietors of businesses, the military, farmers, and persons dependent upon welfare. Therefore, the occupational scale has departed from the titles and codes used by the census for a number of occupations and occupational groups.

Occupational Title	Census Code
Administrators, college	235
Administrators, elemen-	240

Administrators, public administra-	222
Archivists	033
Assessors, local public administration	201
Authors	181
Chiropractors	061
Clergymen	086
Computer specialists, n.e.c.	005
Computer systems analysts	004
Controllers, local public administra-	201
Curators	033
Editors	184
Farm management advisors	024
Industrial engineers	013
Labor relations workers	056
Librarians	032
Musicians/composers	185
Nurses, registered	075
Officials, public administration, n.e.c.	222
Personnel workers	056
Pharmacists	064
Pilots, airplane	163
Podiatrists	071
Sales engineers	022
Statisticians	036
Teachers, secondary school	144
Treasurers, local public administra-	201

c. Managers (census code list);

d. Minor professionals (census code list);

e. Entertainers and artists.

Occupational Title	Census Code
Actors	175
Agricultural scientists	042
Announcers, radio/television	193
Appraisers, real estate	363
Artists	194
Buyers, wholesale/retail trade	205
Computer programmers	003
Credit persons	210
Designers	183
Entertainers, n.e.c.	194

Funeral directors	211
Health practitioners, n.e.c.	073
Insurance adjusters, examiners, inves-	326
Insurance agents, brokers, underwrit-	265
Managers, administration, n.e.c.	245
Managers, residential building	216
Managers, office, n.e.c.	220
Officers, lodges, societies, unions	223
Officers/pilots, pursers, shipping	221
Operations/systems research-	055
Painters	190
Postmasters, mail supervisors	224
Public relations persons	192
Publicity writers	192
Purchasing agents, buyers, n.e.c.	225
Real estate brokers/agents	270
Reporters	184
Sales managers, except retail trade	233
Sales representatives, manufacturing	281
Sculptors	190
Social workers	100
Stock/bond salesmen	271
Surveyors	161
Teachers, except college/university/secondary school	141-143
Teachers, except college/university, n.e.c.	145
Vocational/educational counsellors	174
Writers, n.e.c.	194

Score 6 Technicians, Semiprofessionals, Small Business Owners a. Technicians (census code list);

b. Semiprofessionals: army, m/sgt., navy, c.p.o., clergymen(not professionally trained), interpreters(court);

c. Owners of businesses valued at $50,000 to $75,000;

d. Farm owners/operators with farms valued at $50,000 to $75,000.

Occupational Title	Census Code
Administrators, except farm--allocated	246
Advertising agents/salesmen	260
Air traffic controllers	164
Athletes/kindred workers	180

Buyers, farm products	203
Computer/peripheral equipment op-	343
Conservationists	025
Dental hygienists	081
Dental laboratory technicians	426
Department heads, retail trade	231
Dietitians	074
Draftsmen	152
Embalmers	165
Flight engineers	170
Foremen, n.e.c.	441
Foresters	025
Home management advisors	026
Inspectors, construction, public ad-	213
Inspectors, except construction, public administration	215
Managers, except farm--allocated	246
Opticians, lens grinders/polishers	506
Payroll/timekeeping clerks	360
Photographers	191
Professional, technical, kindred workers--allocated	196
Religious workers, n.e.c.	090
Research workers, not specified	195
Sales managers, retail trade	231
Sales representatives, wholesale trade	282
Secretaries, legal	370
Secretaries, medical	371
Secretaries, n.e.c.	372
Sheriffs/bailiffs	965
Shippers, farm products	203
Stenographers	376
Teacher aides, except school monitors	382
Technicians	150-162
Therapists	076
Tool programmers, numerical control	172

Score 5 Clerical and Sales Workers, Small Farm and Business Owners a. Clerical workers (census code list);

b. Sales workers (census code list);

c. Owners of small business valued at $25,000 to $50,000;

d. Owners of small farms valued at $25,000 to $50,000.

Occupational Title	Census Code
Auctioneers	261
Bank tellers	301
Billing clerks	303
Bookkeepers	305
Bookkeeping/billing machine op-	341
Calculating machine operators	342
Cashiers	310
Clerical assistants, social welfare	311
Clerical workers, miscellaneous	394
Clerical/kindred workers---	396
Clerical supervisors, n.e.c.	312
Clerks, statistical	375
Collectors, bill-account	313
Dental assistants	921
Estimators, n.e.c.	321
Health trainees	923
Investigators, n.e.c.	321
Key punch operators	345
Library assistants/attendants	330
Recreation workers	101
Tabulating machine operators	350
Telegraph operators	384
Telephone operators	385
Therapy assistants	084
Typists	391

Score 4 Smaller Business Owners, Skilled Manual Workers, Craftsmen, and Tenant Farmers

a. Owners of small businesses and farms valued at less than $25,000;

b. Tenant farmers owning farm machinery and livestock;

c. Skilled manual workers and craftsmen (census code list);

d. Noncommissioned officers in the military below the rank of master sergeant and C.P.O

Occupational Title	Census Code
Airline cabin attendants	931
Automobile accessories installers	401
Bakers	402
Blacksmiths	403

Boilermakers	404
Bookbinders	405
Brakemen, railroad	712
Brickmasons/stonemasons	410
Brickmason/stonemason apprentices	411
Cabinetmakers	413
Carpenters	415
Carpenter apprentices	416
Carpet installers	420
Cement/concrete finishers	421
Checkers/examiners/inspectors, man-	610
Clerks, shipping/receiving	374
Compositors/typesetters	422
Conductors, railroad	226
Constables	963
Counter clerks, except food	314
Decorators/window dressers	425
Demonstrators	262
Detectives	964
Dispatchers/starters, vehicles	315
Drillers, earth	614
Dry wall installers/lathers	615
Duplicating machine operators, n.e.c.	344
Electricians	430
Electrician apprentices	431
Electric power linemen/cablemen	433
Electrotypers	434
Engineers, locomotive	455
Engineers, stationary	545
Engravers, except photoengravers	435
Enumerators	320
Expediters	323
Firemen, fire protection	961
Firemen, locomotive	456
Floor layers	440
Foremen, farm	821
Forgemen/hammermen	442
Furriers	444
Glaziers	445
Heat treaters/annealers/temperers	446
Heaters, metal	626

Housekeepers, except private household	950
Inspectors, n.e.c.	452
Inspectors/scalers/graders, log and lumber	450
Interviewers	331
Jewelers/watchmakers	453
Job and diesetters, metal	454
Lithographers	515
Loom fixers	483
Machinists	461
Machinist apprentices	462
Mail carriers, post office	331
Mail handlers, except post office	332
Managers, bar/restaurant/cafeteria	230
Marshals, -law--enforcement	963
Mechanics	470-495
Meter readers	334
Millers, grain/flour/feed	501
Millwrights	355
Molders, metal	503
Molder apprentices	504
Office machine operators, n.e.c.	514
Patternmakers/modelmakers	522
Photoengravers	515
Plasterers	520
Plasterer apprentices	521
Plumbers/pipefitters	522
Plumber/pipefitter apprentices	523
Power station operators	525
Postal clerks	361
Practical nurses	926
Piano/organ tuners/repairmen	516
Pressmen, plate printers, printing trade	530
Pressmen apprentices	531
Projectionists, motion picture	505
Printing trade apprentices, except pressmen	423
Proof readers	362
Radio operators	171
Receptionists	364
Repairmen	471-486

Rollers/finishers, metal	533
Sheetmetal workers	533
Sheetmetal worker apprentices	536
Stereotypers	434
Stock clerks/storekeepers	381
Stone cutters/carvers	546
Structural metal workers	550
Superintendents, building	216
Switchmen, railroad	713
Tailors	551
Telephone linemen/splicers	552
Telephone installers/repairmen	554
Ticket/station/express agents	390
Tile setters	560
Tool and diemakers	561
Tool and diemaker apprentices	562
Weighers	392
Welders/flame cutters	680

Score 3 Machine Operators and Semiskilled Workers (census code list)

Occupational Title	Census
Animal caretakers	740
Asbestos/insulation workers	601
Assemblers	602
Barbers	935
Blasters/powdermen	603
Boardinghouse/lodginghouse keepers	940
Boatmen/canalmen	701
Bottling operatives	604
Bulldozer operators	412
Bus drivers	703
Canning operatives	604
Carding, lapping, combing operatives	670
Chauffeurs	714
Child care workers, except private house-	942
Conductors/motormen, urban rail transit	704
Cranemen/derrickmen/hoistmen	424
Cutting operatives	612
Deliverymen	704
Dressmakers/seamstresses, except factory	613
Drill press operatives	650
Dyers	620

Excavating/grading/road machine opera-	436
Farm services laborers, self-employed	824
File clerks	325
Filers/polishers/sanders/buffers	621
Fishermen/oystermen	752
Forklift/tow motor operatives	706
Furnacemen/smelters/pourers	622
Furniture/wood finishers	443
Graders/sorters/manufacturing	623
Grinding machine operatives	651
Guards/watchmen	962

Hairdressers/cosmetologists	944
Health aides, except nursing	922
Housekeepers, private household	982
Knitters/loopers/toppers	671
Lathe/milling machine operatives	652
Machine operatives, miscellaneous speci-	690
Machine Operatives, n.e.c.	692
Meat cutters/butchers, except manufactur-	631
Meat cutters, butchers, manufacturing	633
Metal platers	635
Midwives (lay)	924
Milliners	640
Mine operatives	640
Mixing operatives	710
Motormen, mine/factory/logging camp, etc.	710
Nursing aides/attendants	925
Oilers/greasers, except auto	642
Operatives, miscellaneous	694
Operatives, not specified	695
Operatives, except transport ---allocated	696
Orderlies	925
Painters, construction/maintenance	510
Painter apprentices	511
Painters, manufactured articles	644
Paperhangers	512
Photographic process workers	645
Precision machine operatives, n.e.c.	653
Pressers/ironers, clothing	611
Punch/stamping press operatives	656
Riveters/fasteners	660
Roofers/slaters	534
Routemen	705

Sailors/deckhands	661
Sawyers	662
Service workers, except private household--	976
Sewers/stitchers	663
Shoemaking machine operatives	664
Shoe repairmen	542
Sign painters/letterers	543
Spinners/twisters/winders	672
Solderers·	665
Stationary firemen	666
Surveying, chainmen/rodmen/axmen	605
Taxicab drivers	714
Textile operatives, n.e.c.	674
Transport equipment operatives---allocated	726
Truck drivers	715
Upholsterers	563
Weavers	673
Welfare service aides	954
Enlisted members of the armed services (other than noncommissioned officers)	---

Score 2 Unskilled Workers (census code list)

Occupational Title	Census Code
Bartenders	910
Busboys	911
Carpenter's helpers	750
Child care workers, private household	980
Construction laborers, except carpen-	751
Cooks, private household	981
Cooks, except private household	912
Crossing guards/bridge tenders	960
Elevator operators	943
Food service, n.e.c., except private	916
Freight/materials handlers	753
Garage workers/gas station attendants	623
Garbage collectors	754
Gardeners/groundskeepers, except	755
Hucksters/peddlers	264
Laborers, except farm---allocated	796

Laborers, miscellaneous
Laborers, not specified
Laundry/drycleaning operatives, n.e.c.
Lumbermen/raftsmen/woodchoppers
Meat wrappers, retail trade
Messengers
Office boys
Packers/wrappers, n.e.c.
Parking attendants--
School monitors
Waiters

Although I did not utilize data on income in this index, I have analyzed them for validation purposes. The linkage between the score assigned to occupational groups and earned income is summarized in Table 3. The mean dollars earned by each occupational code group, listed in the 1970 census, traces a distinct gradient from the highest to the lowest scored occupations with one exception: in both sexes persons engaged in skilled occupations, with a score of 4, earned on the average more than persons in the clerical and sales groups with a score of 5. This variation between the prestige scores assigned to the clerical and sales occupations may be attributed to the favorable view of white-collar clerical and sales work, in contrast to blue-collar skilled manual work in our society. Another important component in this variation between prestige scores and earned income is the high percentage of workers with the score of 4 who belong to craft unions. Sex is a factor also, since a high proportion of clerical and sales workers are females, whereas the majority of skilled manual workers are males. However, when sex is controlled, skilled manual workers earn more than clerical and sales workers.

The disparity between the mean earnings in each of the nine occupational groups by sex is a reflection of the differential values assigned to occupational tasks performed by males in contrast to females. This disparity cannot be attributed to differences in years of school completed by the two sexes, as is demonstrated by the figures given in Table 1.

The National Opinion Research Center has been studying evaluation of occupations and occupational groups for some 30 years. As a criterion against which the scores assigned to occupations and occupational groups could be tested, I compared the scores for occupational groups in this index with the prestige scores developed by the NORC for use in its General Social Survey.7 The occupational titles used by the United States Bureau of the Census for the 1970 census and scored by the present index and the NORC were correlated. The Pearsonian Product Moment Coefficient of Correlation between the nine-step occupational

scale and the NORC prestige scores is r = .927. The coefficient of determination is r2 = .860.

The analyses reported here of interrelations between years of school completed, occupational pursuits, and earnings on the job demonstrate the existence of a status system in contemporary American society that is symbolized by the amount of education adults have received, the occupations they pursue, and the sex bestowed on them by the biological lottery we are all enmeshed in. Education tends to condition occupational opportunities, and the pecuniary value assigned to occupations, in turn, conditions the amount of income an individual earns on the job. In sum, the scores computed by the use of this index are a measure of inequality in the social system of the United States.

The validation study demonstrated significant differences between groups of scores when mass communication data were used as criteria of social behavior. However, a new validation study is indicated for the findings that are likely to be brought out in new research. What is needed is a major study of interrelations between the scores computed from the four factors in this index and social and cultural items forming behavioral

APPENDIX

Table I. Mean Years of School Completed by Occupational Score and Sex of the Civilian Labor Force, 1970*

Significance	0.00001	0.0000
Standard error of estimate	2137.643	1549.5 82

*The data for this table were abstracted from the U. S. Census of Population, 1970, Occupational Characteristics, Vol. 2, Table I, "Summary of Social and Economic Characteristics of the Experienced Civilian Labor Force by Detailed Occupations and Sex," Pp. 1-11. This table gives the median income earned by each occupational category and sex by occupational code.

+In Tables 1 and 3, the mean figure for each occupational rank by sex is the mean of the medians given in Table 1, cited above, from the U. S. Census of Population, 1970.

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Teacher/police: how inner-city students perceive the connection between the education system and the criminal justice system

Cara McClellan

Abstract *The purpose of this project is to learn how inner-city teenagers perceive the connection between the education system and the criminal justice system. In particular, this study examines how the increased connection between the criminal justice system and school discipline system affects disadvantaged students. Do these students perceive the phenomenon researchers refer to as "the-school-to-prison pipeline" or is this a concept imposed from the outside? In order to interpret the full impact of how criminalizing school discipline affects students, it is essential to understand how students perceive the relationship between these two systems, in particular, whether it expands the vulnerability that disadvantaged communities experience in the criminal justice system to the education system. This project questions: if misbehavior that occurs in school is increasingly categorized as crime, and students are aware that the poor and minorities are disproportionately prosecuted within the criminal justice system, will they perceive this injustice as carrying over to the school setting?*

Keywords: *Teacher, inner-city, between Adolescence,*

Received *14.04.2018*
Accepted *16.07.2018*

DOI *10:116.MES/45-86.101*

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Introduction

This study has important implications for assessing the extent to which young people believe in education as an institution that fosters equal opportunity. If students view themselves as powerless to overcome the discrimination within established rules, they respond by avoiding authority structures and questioning the legitimacy of mainstream institutions (Kupchik 2009: 312). This study documents how a typical group of disadvantaged inner-city youth perceive the criminal justice and education system to understand whether they believe in a school-to-prison pipeline that precludes equal opportunity in America.

The school-to-prison pipeline is a term that describes the process whereby criminalized discipline policies route students out of school and into the justice system. A focus on harsh legal sanctions and exclusion increases the risk that students will disengage or drop out of school and heightens the likelihood that students will become involved in the juvenile justice system (NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Children's Defense Fund 2006).

By excluding students from school, educators limit the future options of misbehaving students and increase the likelihood that they will participate in a life of crime. As Western and Simon document, there is a direct correlation between academic attainment and involvement in the criminal justice system. Nearly all prisoners lack any education beyond high school (Pattillo 2004: 1). Failure to graduate from high school compounds the likelihood that any demographic group will serve time in jail, but for African American males the effects are catastrophic: 32.4% of African American male high school dropouts between fifteen and twenty were in prison. This represents a rate of incarceration that is nearly fifty times the national average (Western 2004: 18).

Moreover, criminal sanctions for misbehavior begin students' involvement with the juvenile tice system. Just as mandatory sentences may initiate young men into prison and extreme criminal lifestyles, Zero Tolerance policies bring students into the juvenile justice system which can serve as an introductory course in behavior that is, in fact, criminal. Once introduced, students are far more likely to become repeat criminal offenders (Western 2007: Chapter 5; Pattillo 2004: 13).

During the 1990's, major changes in school discipline policy left the public education system more directly tied to the criminal justice system than ever before. States across the country embraced a crime framework for dealing with student misbehavior, incorporating elements of law enforcement once unique to the criminal justice system. They now impose legal consequences for rule violation, exclusionary punishment, and control through

police and other surveillance. Today, most public schools include police officers titled School Resource Officers (SROs) and other forms of surveillance that were once unique to the penal system such as video cameras, metal detectors and drug sweeps (Kupchik 2010: 291). As Paul Hirschfield writes, the criminal justice system offers a "useful template and accessible tools" for the quick removal of problem students from the school (Hirschfield 2008: 92).

The tie between the education and justice system developed with the passage of formal laws dictating punishment for behavior within schools. In 1994, the Safe Schools Act passed, mandating that in order to receive federal money, a school must have close cooperation with police and juvenile justice agencies and a written policy detailing criminally enforced results for misbehavior (Simon 2007: 218). Under the Safe Schools Act, many schools created rules that limited teacher discretion and required legally enforced consequences for students who committed categorical acts, regardless of the context of infraction (Simon 2007: 218).

The vast majority of states require schools to refer students to the police for activity including drugs, violence, and weapons violations known collectively as "Zero Tolerance" discipline (Hirschfield 2008: 83). Zero Tolerance Laws formalized the tie between education and the criminal justice system.

At its inception, The Safe Schools Act of 1994 provided funding for non-punitive approaches to school safety, including intervention through conflict resolution and peer mediation (Irby 2009: 8). "The national mandate [of crime punishment], widespread misapplications and increasing scopes of Zero Tolerance approaches eventually shifted the focus beyond keeping schools free of weapons and drugs to 'punishing dangerousness'" (Irby 2008: 9). The understanding that effective discipline requires rehabilitative approaches and not simply punishment was somehow lost. Today, Zero Tolerance policies often privilege looking for student misbehavior over "other school functions, such as helping students with their actual problems – including problems which may be prompting their misbehaviors" (Kupchik 2009: 305). School staff express a desire to want to help misbehaving students, but this help consistently avoids directly dealing with students who are deemed too "dangerous" to risk contact.

Since inception, the use of Zero Tolerance has extended not just to extreme cases of illegal activities, but more common instances of misbehavior such as classroom disruption and failure to follow school rules. Minor incidents compose the bulk of national suspensions and juvenile justice referrals (Hirschfield 2008: 83). According to statewide data on school suspensions in Connecticut in 2008, 60% of reported offenses resulting in an

in-school suspension (ISS), out-of-school suspension (OSS), or expulsion resulted from "school policy violations":

frequent absences or tardiness from class or "insubordination" such as disrespect or use of profanity (Suarez 2009: 29). School policy violations resulted in OSS 91% of the time and attendance violations resulted in OSS 95% of the time (Suarez 2009: 29).

Like the phenomenon of mass imprisonment (Western 2007:

29), poor and minority students are disproportionately punished and excluded under Zero Tolerance policies and a crime framework for school discipline. Some argue that the crime framework for school discipline has extended the discriminatory effects that occur law enforcement from the justice system to the education system. Criminalization is more prevalent and intense in schools that are heavily populated by disadvantaged urban minorities (Hirschfield 2007: 81). The U.S. Department of Education Data reports that in public schools in Connecticut during 2006, African American and Latino students accounted for 58.63% of out-of-school suspensions and 62.57% of expulsions (Office for Civil Rights). Within Connecticut, the highest suspension rates occur in districts that serve the highest concentrations of minority, low-income students (Dignity Denied 2008: 23). While much research has studied the disproportionate effects of crime policies in schools, little research has explored how students perceive the relationship between the two systems.

Through intensive interviews and participant observation, this project highlights how 28 East Coast city youth perceive the public school system and criminal justice system. This ethnography focuses on a student-run group entitled Achievement through Expression. I learned about Achievement through Expression (A.E.) during my first interview with two brothers—Justin and Shawn, the group's founders. I worked with the group's founder, Justin, to coordinate the meetings. The group met twice weekly from November through February. Justin, a charismatic young man and a recent high school graduate, is the main leader of the group who facilitated the activities. I conducted intensive interviews with 13 students: Justin (age 19), Shawn (15), Tammie (15), Dwayne (16), Bridget (16), Tyree (20), Michael (15), Maya (17), Juliet (16), Greg (17), Destiny (16), Arthur (15) and Jared (16). The interviews lasted approximately an hour and were free-form, allowing the participants to talk with little predetermined structure. I began each interview by saying, "please introduce yourself," and then asked students to tell me about their experience at school. From there, I only asked follow-up or clarifying questions. I interviewed the students one-on-one before

or after meetings, and, on rare occasions in their homes. The students gave informed consent to participate and were told that the material would be used anonymously. This paper employs pseudonyms to protect the privacy of the students in the data that I collected. Additionally, I changed specific data related to the identity of the youth group and other organizations that the students affiliated with to ensure anonymity. These details do not significantly affect the findings of this study.

There were an additional thirteen students who I observed through the group but who I was not able to interview: Finally, there were approximately five students with whom I met once or twice, but who did not attend meetings consistently enough to be included as participants in this study.

One of the students was Caucasian, seven were Latino, and the remainder identified as African American. In total, there were 16 males and 12 females. All of the students came from neighborhoods of concentrated poverty in a deindustrialized East Coast city of approximately 123,000 inhabitants. While the majority of the students were enrolled in high school, three were recent high school graduates, two attended community college, and one recently completed vocational training. In addition, one student attended an alternative discipline school and two were high school dropouts. The remaining students were currently enrolled in one of three different high schools. The academic achievement of these teenagers varied; some were honor roll students while others had completely disengaged from school.

In the communities where the participants live, there is a violence epidemic. Between 2006-2008, more than 500 youth were victims of gun violence in the city of East Coast city (Suarez 2: 2010). Of the students I interviewed, everyone knew a young person who had been injured or killed as a result of gun violence. Everyone had at least one close relative or friend who was either currently in prison or had been incarcerated at some time. For approximately half of the students, this person was a father or sibling. At least four of the students, male and female, had personal criminal records or were on probation. One is currently engaged in court proceedings for a school infraction. Although this study lasted less than a year, before its completion the group was interrupted in late February and devastated by an act of extreme gun violence.

Several teenage boys shot Justin. It was early evening and he was walking home from work, accompanied by his younger brother, Shawn and friend/mentee Dwayne. Justin's injuries were near fatal and he remains in recovery. A week after this tragic event, the same teenagers returned during the day, firing shots at his mother's car outside of their home. As research documents, such bold acts of violence rarely occur in communities where

there is greater police accountability (Roehl et al. 2008). The police have yet to identify the teenagers responsible for the shooting as of the publication of this paper.

A. A lack of trust in police and the justice system

All of the teenagers that I interviewed believe the police profile inner-city teenagers as criminals, not as citizens who deserve protection. The students view the police not as a source of help, but as fundamentally against them.

Other teenagers described instances of police abuse that made them feel they are not the beneficiaries of police services, but instead targeted for harassment. Several students described occasions where friends or relatives were beaten up or robbed and police did not intervene. Shawn told of a time where a friend was jumped while police watched and laughed. Many of the teenagers perceive the police as in cahoots with criminals, either because they believe police are aware of drug dealing and other crime but do nothing to stop it, or because they believe police actively participate in illegal activities. Several students describe events where police were the attackers, physically harming teenagers.

Dwayne: We were coming from playing basketball and some of us weren't even wearing our t-shirts. They started patting us down like we're gonna have a gun in our shorts. One of the police officers actually took the food I just bought and threw it down and was like 'You got an issue with what I just did?' I guess they were trying to start an issue where they could arrest me. I wanted to talk back. I actually started talking back, but then I just got quiet. 'Cause I'm basically falling for their trap. If they want me to be locked up then they want me to say something back or do something.

Students articulate harassment by police in school, titled School Resource Officers (SROs), that mirrors the police profiling they describe outside of school. Shawn tells how the security officer at the entrance to his school taunts him as he enters the building. Justin also describes how some SROs will egg students on in a way similar to the police on the street. His feelings towards police outside of school carry over to how he views police within school.

Cops, they just never been a help to me. In school or whatever it just felt like they were making situations worse …They pester you they want you to get mad and if you get mad they suspend you.

Overall, the interviewees believe they are not the beneficiaries of police protection, but a danger from which a wider society is protected. As a result

of the lack of police accountability, the students feel they must assert their ability to defend themselves. As Elijah Anderson writes, in inner-city communities, the code of the street emerges as an adaptation to a profound lack of faith in the police and the judicial system. Police are seen as not caring to protect inner-city residents. Without formal law enforcement and other mainstream agencies to "champion one's personal security," citizens must be prepared to take extraordinary measures to defend themselves and their loved ones against transgression (Anderson 2000: 34). "The code of the street thus emerges where the influence of the police ends and where personal responsibility for one's safety is felt to begin" (Anderson 2000: 34). Because police do not enforce civil law, "street justice" fills the void, underscoring the need for street credibility (Stewart and Simmons 2009: 2).

The code of the street mandates behavior of aggression and violence for survival. The rules of the code dictate street credibility through appearance, demeanor and willingness to fight to deter transgression. The person who proves he can take care of himself has street "cred". Credibility then serves to deter advances and establish protection. This leads young people to be especially sensitive to advances and slights, which could serve as a warning of confrontation or danger, and when left unanswered, lead to the erosion of street credit (Stewart 2009: 3).

The participants described the ways they employ the code of the street as a form of self-preservation because no other form of protection exists. Dwayne describes a situation where limits are tested through slights:

You'll be walking and someone bumps into you and one of your friends will be like "your just gonna let him bump into you like that? You not gonna hit 'em or say anything."

Dwayne is afraid that if he does not respond aggressively, he will not have the credibility necessary to deter threat. He does not want to have to fight because he will get in trouble at school, but he also does not want to become a target for aggressors to take advantage of him. He admits there are situations "where I felt like I had to fight back to get out of the predicament." Maya describes how she acts in a way that makes others fear her in order to assure her own protection. As she says: "There's times when I have to stand up for myself." She describes how the code of the street requires her to be threatening:

I want to change, but then, I don't want nobody to think I'm a pushover, and then they start to think that I'm a sweet thing, and I'm not. I just want people to know …don't mess with me to a point that I might have to hit you or stab you.

In most interactions, the code does not require violence so much as a

street exterior to deter aggression. Knowledge of the code is defensive (Stewart and Simmons 2009: 2). Appearance and speech can serve as major indicators of who is and is not from the inner city and therefore familiar with the code of the street. Greg believes that failing to display emblems of the street can lead to highly dangerous situations.

This is my first pea coat ever… It makes me look nice and presentable. [The first time I wore it], somebody thought about robbing me – they were sayin', "Yo look, he probably got money."

In this case, dress operates as a signifier of the street. Failure to present according to the code can lead to the erosion of street credit. Thus, teenagers employ the code of the street as signals for self-defense in the inner-city to make up for the protection law-enforcement does not provide.

C. Disproportionate punishment

Through the code of the street inner city residents signal that they are not to be messed with and deter aggressors. Street credit is maintained through speech, dress, demeanor and aggression that serve to reinforce one's reputation of toughness. The teenagers acknowledge that the code of the street can take different extremes from behavior that is harmless to behavior that is actually dangerous. However, at school any display of the code of the street is punished. Fearful of teenagers they deem threatening of mainstream norms, adults may punish signs of street culture generally.

The participants believe that school staff— teachers, administrators, school officers —consider students who invoke "street" culture to be "bad" students, unfit for school. To determine who is "street," the staff rely upon appearance, demeanor, use of street language and other signifiers within the code of the street. The teenagers describe how teachers and administrators determine who can "make it" at school based on: "What you look like. If you're dressin' in a certain way, if you dress in like baggy clothes, or if you got a mean mug on your face" or "They swag. How they talk." Shawn highlights how school personnel fixate on street emblems. He believes that this leads adults at school to see him as criminally dangerous and unable to be a good student: It's just like how people perceive me. When I walk through the hall it's like when I be downtown or whatever, people be crossing the street because they think I'm going to rob them. It's just how I look.

Arthur agrees that teachers use "the looks of people" to punish students who come from the streets.

Ironically, the participants believe that the street exterior that leads others to view them as "dangerous" stems directly from a lack of police ac-

countability and the resulting code of the street that mandates a tough demeanor for self-protection. A lack of law-enforcement leads to the code of the street, yet at school the code of the street is harshly punished through suspension and criminal sanctions.

D. Harsh punishment

The teenagers believe that school staff overpunish forms of street dress, speech and demeanor that are actually harmless. Students recounted stories of how school disciplinarians rely upon suspension and expulsion unnecessarily or with the intent of getting rid of students who they consider "street." Every student I interviewed agreed that the majority of suspensions do not represent a real danger, but rather small infractions that are punished harshly. As Destiny says "You get in trouble more, I think, for stupid stuff." The teenagers do believe that misbehavior needs to have consequences, but question the extent of the punishment for what Juliet calls "random little things." Tammie echoes this sentiment as she describes how her sister was suspended for violating the dress code: "It's like they focus on the clothes. I think they should be worried about whether you in school or not. They send a lot of people home or put them in in-school suspension."

Dwayne describes how suspension is overused in his school for misbehavior that doesn't pose a real danger:

If you're in the hallways fifteen minutes after the bell rings than that's a suspension. Basically if you're doing anything wrong, then they'll suspend you for it. The reason most people get suspended is hats or doo rags. I think it's dumb. They said they banned hats because of gang violence but they're really no gangs at my school [that]… show it through hfats and stuff....

By interpreting the hats as gang symbols, the school staff view a dress code violation as more dangerous and sinister than simple rule violations. In an attempt to root out the more threatening forms of the code of the street, the teenagers believe that adults at school misread all forms of the street as dangerous. For the students who do not actually engage in dangerous behavior, this punishment feels unduly harsh. Some describe harsh punishment of "street" behavior as discrimination directed uniquely against students who come from the inner-city.

The interviewees described teachers' attempts to suspend, expel or refer "bad" students to juvenile justice as intended to remove the street students, not to reform misbehavior. Justin blames Zero Tolerance Policies for

providing the tools for adults to remove unwanted students: "When they say zero tolerance, what they really mean is if we look at you and we think you're a bad kid, we're going to try and get you out as soon as possible."

The teenagers felt that exclusionary punishment usually does not address the root of misbehavior. Destiny pointed out how, without addressing the underlying cause of misbehavior, suspension is a temporary solution "they just back in school a few days later." Additionally, many of the students considered suspension unfair because they believe it interferes with education. As Tammie explains: "Some miss work…I don't think they learn like that." In both cases, the students emphasize that exclusionary discipline is counterproductive when it is overused because it interferes with academic progress and causes students to disengage with school.

F. Punishment and differential opportunity

As inner-city teenagers come in contact with mainstream institutions, they realize two sometimes diametrically opposed social realities: mainstream society and the street. Within these two realities two opportunity structures operate: work to succeed through mainstream institutions or enter underground economic opportunities associated with street life. The students that I interviewed describe teenage years as vacillating between these two different orientations. Many of the students expressed the necessity of code switching between school and the streets of the inner-city: enacting different codes of behavior in order to meet the requirements of being a good student while maintaining street credit. Shawn describes this as knowing "when to do something and when not to." That is, how to be "decent," but employ the code of the street when necessary.

Code switching does not always occur seamlessly. For inner city students, a challenge arises at the intersection between the "two worlds": the times and spaces where mainstream norms and the code of the street overlap and create contradiction. Teens who want to conform to mainstream norms and avoid punishment in school also depend on the code of the street and these two codes can proscribe irresolvable conflicts in behavior, that force students to make decisions to succeed through one of two competing opportunity structures. Although students acknowledge that the street life is dangerous, its benefits are also clear, particularly when the chance of success through school and employment seems unlikely. As Suarez points out "School discipline can play a vital role with respect to this difficult choice" (Suarez 2010: 44).

The teenagers that I interviewed believe that adults at school do not have the tools to make sense of the behavior of inner-city teenagers because they do not share the opportunity structure that results from of growing up in the inner-city. While inner city teenagers are forced to interact with mainstream institutions, the dangerousness of the inner-city ghetto maintains a level of isolation. As Justin says:

Most teachers who work in inner-city don't understand the inner-city. They don't understand what it is like to live in a box.

As Dwayne explains, the disconnect between teachers and students results directly from the failures of the criminal justice system. He believes that adults at school do not understand the experience of inner-city teenagers because they have the benefit of police accountability and therefore do not understand the need for the code of the street.

Dwayne: Because when they [teachers and administrators] were younger they didn't have to worry about walking in a store and being followed. They're not from the inner-city. Cause you don't see police in the suburbs driving around, you only see them in the hood.

Cara: What would it take for teachers to understand?

Dwayne: Having them walk into stores and be followed or asking them to leave the store because they're wearing baggy clothes. Or I guess for us to share what we've been through with the teachers. But most of us don't feel comfortable so no one shares anything.

Dwayne believes that adults at school cannot understand the behavior of inner city teenagers because they do not know what it feels like to have an adversarial relationship with police. The adults at school live in mainstream America and are the beneficiaries of police protection. Therefore, a lack of police accountability leads to the code of the street, different opportunity structures, and the major disconnect between students and adults at school.

G. Punishment and labeling theory

The teenagers believe that by the time a student reaches middle school, staff firmly decide whether a particular student has the potential to be a good student. As Justin describes: "When you first walk into school and they [the school staff] see your face they label you as 'Okay this kid is worth saving. This one is not because he would never be able to do it." The teenagers believe that adults do not waste time encouraging the "unsalvageable" to use school as a pathway to success. They believe that adults at school begin making distinctions about who is and is not able to be successful as early as se-

cond grade. As Shawn said: "It's elementary."

The teenagers I interviewed describe how students internalize the expectation that they are not fit to be students. As Destiny put it simply:

> If the administration doesn't believe in you, you can just be like "maybe I'm nothing." So then, that determines where you're gonna be in life.

Shawn describes how early on, teachers told him that he would not be good at school: "I've always been told I was stupid and stuff." It made him feel like he didn't fit in or meet the standards of school. Indeed, he cites this as the main reason he does not like school—the labeling that occurred in fourth grade has caused him to disengage, even at the high school level.

In accordance with labeling theory, the teenagers claim the expectations of school staff are self-fulfilling prophecies (Becker 1997: 33).

Justin explains how this occurred amongst his friends in high school. Once teachers labeled them "bad" students, they began to act out bad behavior that he believes they would not have displayed otherwise:

Justin: When you're like 6, 7 years old and someone tells you you're going to jail you're going to be a thug subconsciously, indirectly they tell you that, you don't know to think "no, I am going to dream and be the best I can be." I think when you first hear it you become it. You mimic it.

H. Punishment and adult incarceration

Students described suspension not as an attempt to rehabilitate misbehaving kids, but instead as an effort to get rid of students who adults consider destined for crime and prison. Justin describes a situation where administrators at his school openly admitted intent to punish students who they believe do not have a future and protect students who they believe do.

We all got in trouble. We could all do the same thing, but what teachers used to say to me is, they would pull me away from the group and they would say to me: 'Justin stay away from these guys. These guys are going to jail. These guys will be nothing and you won't.' And they would keep me from getting into trouble.

In this story, it is clear that participants believe there is a connection between who adults label "bad" and who they believe will end up in jail. However, as Justin's story reveals, the distinction between who is a bad student is not based simply upon student action, but influenced by adult beliefs about students' futures. According to students, adults in school make punishing decisions based on whom they believe will be successful in the future.

The teenagers believe that school staff see students' behavior as stagnant. However, the teenagers view the "decent/street" dynamic as much more fluid and therefore not an accurate indicator of future life chances. Indeed, many of the students who I interviewed believe they have gone through different phases where they behaved as street or "decent" in varying degrees. As Justin points out, all teenagers have a more fluid sense of identity than adults because they are still deciding who they want to become. However, code switching complicates this process as a result of the opportunity structures inner city teenagers face. Inner-city teenagers are uniquely required to navigate difficult contradictions at a very young age.

It's funny because the people who you wouldn't think are like that [street] are. All of them have come to me with the same things these kids have. Any kid who comes out of East Coast city is pretty much going to be the same thing of course at this age it's like they're gonna be contemplating this. It's only a real small percentage of kids who are going to be like "I am going to be positive." It's like at this age they teeter totter in terms of what side they're going to be on.

For many students, there were times when they acted out before they learned how to conform to mainstream norms in school. They believe that it takes time to learn how to code switch—what behavior is appropriate at a particular place and time. They often sympathized with students who employed the code of the street at school, admitting that they had "been there" at a different point in time.

Michael: I ain't sayin' kick them out from school. 'Cause I ain't gonna lie, I was one of the kids that would be loud in the classroom and stuff before I realized how to act.

Jared: To be honest I was about to be one of these people [suspended]. I used to be like "Oh you doing this? You bout to fight? Okay. I wanna see someone get jumped."

As Michael describes, for inner-city youth, growing up is navigating both the code of the street and mainstream America in order to find a personal identity.

I. Punishment and the pipeline-to-prison

It is clear that the students I interviewed conceive of a direct link between schools and the criminal justice system. The students believe that adults at school including teachers, administrators and SROs, intentionally punish inner-city youth with the understanding that exclusion from school leads almost directly to jail. Greg describes how while punishing him with suspension, a teacher once said to him: "I can't wait for you to be a felon. I

can't wait to sign those papers." The students believe that adults at school judge students based upon emblems of the street and "push" students deemed uneducable out of school and into prison. The push occurs through a criminalized discipline system, but also through a psychological toll on students whom adults view as future prisoners.

Destiny: They just pushed him out of school. It's hard to describe. Like they go through his bags [to repeatedly search him]. And, ok, we all curse, we all say bad things, but they just used to highlight Jordan for the way he talked all the time. … It's like I can say it as loud as I want, but if Jordan were to say that they would like, suspend him. It's ridiculous.

According to Destiny, this student was the victim of a school-to-prison-pipeline. She articulates a direct connection between school discipline and the final fate of her friends saying: "They tried to push him out of school and now he got locked up." The teenagers recognize that getting in trouble at school often translates into a life of crime and incarceration. In a separate interview, other students articulated situations in similar ways saying: "They tried to push him out cause they felt like he was ruining the rest of the school. And they succeed in that goal. Now he's out and he's in jail." The students believe discrimination within school discipline and the criminal justice systems is inherently tied. Shawn describes this dynamic:

They do not care. It's like they try to get you in trouble. If not by putting you in the streets, they try to lock you up. It's like streets, or lock you up. There's no in between. That's metaphoric but it's also literal. Cops will literally lock you up. But teachers they won't try to help your problem in a way that is going to do something else. They kind of like cops, too. They come across like cops. It's like they got the same mentality. With cops it's a lot more specific and strong. Teachers do it unintentionally. But both see you as a wrong kind of person

For Shawn the focus on punishment instead of rehabilitation in school discipline is directly related to a larger criminal justice policy that views inner city teenagers as "unsalvageable," destined for incarceration and not success in school (Ferguson 2009). In this way, he believes the work of police and teachers systematically serves a similar purpose. The students view a lack of police protection as the cause of the code of the street. They also observe that within school the code of the street is punished. Thus, indirectly, they feel the failures of the criminal justice system lead inner- city students to violate the rules of school.

K. Punishment and public resources

The teenagers that I interviewed believe adults at school make predic-

tions about students' adult futures and use these predictions to dictate punishment. In contrast, many of the students stressed the importance of having second chances and the ability of young people to change. As Michael says: "Everyone ain't perfect, you may not be as good but [at A.E.] people are there to help you catch on so you won't feel left out."

Justin: We can't try to make a positive change in the community if all we accept is positive people who are already positive… [These are] at- risk children. There is going to be some risky behavior along the way.

Moreover, the participants believe that weeding out certain individuals who exhibit the code of the street does not get at the root of the problem. Even if it does remove the "bad influence" or "danger" in one particular setting, it does not address the fact that this individual is a part of the inner-city community.

Justin: As far as these people influencing them, I don't think that is going to happen because a lot of them know these people already and they live in their neighborhood. It's not like we're not around each other all the time anyway. We come from the same place.

While this individual may be removed from school setting, this individual is still a member of the neighborhood. The teenagers who are labeled dangerous and excluded from school are neighbors, friends and relatives of other students. Teenagers thus develop the sense that school staff are attempting to "protect us from ourselves." Or, the sense that school staff are attempting to protect themselves from what inner city teenagers deal with every day. In reality, street behavior does not exist in a vacuum, but is symptomatic of larger social ills. An attempt to exclude individuals from a particular setting does not truly address the problem.

Dwayne: Organizations, once they open, they didn't really want people from the hood I guess. Like the Y.M.C.A. They open it for like youth and stuff, but once they really see who we are they make it seem bad. They make the groups or programs for certain kids and then they try to push us out and then there's no point in having the program. What's the goal? Then they think we deserve it.

The conversation then turned into different students sharing stories about people they believe would have turned out differently with some support from school or other public services.

The students believe that the distinction between mainstream norms and the code of the street is too complex to be categorized as purely good or bad. They believe that code of the street can translate into a range of behavior some of which is harmless, but some of which is indeed reprehensible. Students feel by punishing the code of the street generally, teachers deal with

student problems in a superficial way that does not acknowledge the difficult circumstances in which behavior occurs. In order to truly address the danger of the code, we must acknowledge the root of the problem: the lack of protection that force inner city residents to provide their own defense. Inner city residents do not have access to traditional forms of help. They rely on the code of the street to fill a void. Punishing street behavior addresses the symptom, but not the root of the problem.

The students' alienation from school discipline comes from the reality that the rules in school only have meeting in a limited setting. Students enter metal detectors to protect them from the weapons that go uncontrolled in their neighborhoods. They face police officers who fail to stop the violence they see happening in their neighborhoods. Thus, students conclude that the school's concern with safety is not a sincere concern about inner city students' lives, but an attempt to protect other members of the school community from the danger of the street that inner-city teenagers deal with everyday. Even if the "problem" individuals are eliminated, the code of the street would still exist. A solution that seeks only to remove individuals without redressing the systematic forces that lead to their behavior is short-sighted. Most important of all, a focus on exclusion denies the "problem" individuals access to the resources that make change possible: education and communities like A.E. are proven to reduce the likelihood of an individual's involvement with the criminal justice system (Stewart and Simon 2009).

From the teenager's perspective, growing up is balancing competing codes for behavior in different times and setting. Youth in the inner-city must learn how to prioritize in ways that allow self-preservation in a world without police accountability. Because street behavior develops directly from a failure of the state to protect inner city residents, the question of who is and is not deserving of help is much more complex in the minds of the teenagers. As Greg says "Do not judge. People do what they have to to survive."

A. Summary of findings

The interviewees believe they are not the beneficiaries of police protection, but profiled for punishment. Because the police are not accountable to them, they feel as if they have to protect themselves and enforce their own law and order. Street justice rules because the state has failed to step in and provide the resources that ensure the safety of impoverished, inner-city youth. The students view a lack of police protection as the cause of the code of the street.

In an attempt to root out the more threatening forms of the code of the street, the teenagers believe that adults at school misread all forms of street

culture as dangerous. The teenagers believe that exclusionary discipline is counterproductive because it interferes with academic progress and causes students to disengage with school. Moreover, the categorical labeling of student behavior as dangerous can lead to a self-fulfilling prophecy in which teenagers depend on the street even more. Harsh punishment tremendously increases the likelihood that teenagers will rely on the street opportunity structure and become involved in the criminal justice system. The teenagers describe an interconnected cycle from the justice system, to school, to the justice system: a lack of police protection leads to street justice, leads to punishment in school, leads to criminal involvement.

In contrast with their schools, the students believe that the distinction between mainstream norms and the code of the street is too complex to be categorized as purely good or bad. They believe that code of the street can translate into a range of behavior, some of which is harmless, some of which is indeed dangerous. Because the teenagers believe the division between street and "decent" is complex, they do not believe it can be used as an accurate indicator of future life chances to make decisions about who is and is not worthy of public help. They recognize the potential of teenagers to change through the intervention of a supportive community and mainstream resources.

B. Recommendations

On a micro level, changing student perception of discipline includes engaging students in the discipline process and school community. This would require a focus on inclusion and rehabilitation as opposed to harsh exclusionary punishment. The Superintendent of East Coast city School District recommends many alternatives to suspension and expulsion including: social training, restorative justice, counseling, mediation, mentoring, anger management training, leadership opportunities, effective student governance committees, and a focus on teacher–student relationships (Unified Code of Conduct 2009: Appendix 3). Relying on alternative strategies that allow marginalized students to engage in the discipline process may help schools to understand the specifics of a student's individual experience, instead of relying on generalized assumptions about groups, improving communication and relationships between adults and students. Past studies have shown that effective discipline systems directly engage students (Kupchick 2006) This study confirms those finding: teenagers were highly likely to emphasize the importance of students actively participating in the discipline process through strong relationships with teachers who allow them to express their perspective instead of simply punishing students. They felt that this would

allow adults to get at the root of the problem and better address misbehavior.

On a macro level, addressing student perception requires a rejection of mass incarceration and a sincere attempt to provide education and employment for inner-city youth, instead of assuming crime and imprisonment as the default option. This requires increased police accountability and improved relationships between police and inner- city residents. A school-to-prison pipeline facilitates the loss of massive numbers of people, the majority of whom are concentrated in the most marginalized (NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc. 2010: 1).

The data in this case demonstrates the dangers of a national policy that fails to address the root causes of crime and violence, systematically viewing disadvantaged teenagers as disposable citizens, doomed to crime, incarceration and early death (Hirschfield 2008: 90). Whether due to exclusion from school, incarceration, or gun violence, the absence of young men and women affects their communities in dramatic ways. If police, school administrators, or other personnel are indeed making predictions about teenager's future potential, their calculations do not consider how an individual student's future affects those around them and serve as resources to their peers. The story of Justin reveals more. Although he was written off by many as a "bad" student, he is instrumental in his community, a young leader who speaks in a way that engages others and inspires them to believe in a vision of hope. He has played a role in shaping the lives of every single teenager he works with, reminding them to believe in their dreams and in themselves. As Jared said:

I would've been one of those people who died real soon. I was gonna be one of those people who could just clap [shoot] somebody without even thinking about it. Justin would make me think about the consequences of my actions. A.E. is more than just a movement. It gave me a new lifestyle for me to do good.

Despite the daunting statistics, it is impossible to predict individual futures. Race, class, educational attainment, criminal involvement can tell us little about the effects that presence or absence of an individual can have on an entire community and the potential to create change. A policy that views any young person as disposable misunderstands how the presence or absence of one individual can irreplaceably touch those around him.

Acknowledgements

Throughout the course of this project, I received support from the Department of Sociology and Director of Undergraduate Studies, Hannah Brueckner, who provided funding and advice. Thank you toNadine Alfonso who transcribed the interview recordings and to Dean Pamela George for al-

lowing this study to take place in the African American Cultural Center at Yale. I am indebted to my advisor Richard Brooks and to my advisor Elijah Anderson whose work provides the inspiration for this paper. Additionally, PhD candidates Patricia Maloney, Mayra Jones-Taylor and Waverly Duck provided extensive feedback. Professor Paul Hirschfield of Rutgers University provided early advice and guidance in the formation of this project. I am indebted to Chris Suarez and Youth Rights Media for their statistical research on discipline and retention within the New Haven Public Schools. Most importantly, thank you to the youth who contributed their time and stories to this paper. This paper is dedicated to Justin.

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Constructing public preschool: women, poverty, politics, and the development of public preschool in the United States

Helen Mary Sirinovskaya

Abstract *Since 1965, government investment in preschool—educational programs for three and four year old children—has risen dramatically in the United States at both the state and federal level. Nearly forty percent of four year-olds attended public preschool programs in 2009 (NIEER 2009:4). The development of public preschool represents a radical transformation of the role of the family and the state in the lives of young children. Yet little research has been done on how public preschool developed and its role in the broader debate on*

family policy and the welfare state. In this paper, I develop four theoretical frameworks based on theories of labor, race, politics, and the welfare state through which to understand public preschool. I argue that political networks and the ideological framing of women's labor drove the adoption of public preschool in the United States.

Keywords: *Constructing, poverty, preschool .*

Received *10.05.2018*
Accepted *16.08.2018*

DOI *10:116.MES/45-86.101*

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Introduction

That education begins with a quality preschool, elementary, and secondary education. Sixty years ago, this statement would have been radical: few states had public kindergarten, and none had public preschool (Gilliam 2008). 2 As had been done for centuries, most young children were cared for in the home by their homemaker mothers or by other female relatives. Furthermore, it was debatable whether this care—helping children learn the alphabet, numbers, and manners—was education at all; many thought it was simply mothering. By 1983, however, the concept of extra-familial early education was increasingly conventional. With the Feminist Movement, the number of women working outside the home had dramatically increased, generating a need for preschool (Tossi 2002). Scientific research showed educational and psychological benefits of preschool for children, creating a demand for preschool. In fact, by the mid-1980s, the lack of accessible and affordable preschool was becoming a major public issue (Slotzfus 2003:197-199).

Gradually, state governments, and the United States Congress, began to respond to these demographic shifts and political demands in their educational policy. During the 1960s and the 1970s, many states expanded public kindergarten, and some began public preschool programs. By the time South Carolina enacted its preschool program in 1984 under pressure from Governor Riley, eight states had already developed public preschool programs (NIEER 2009). The federal government also established several early education programs to prepare children from low-income families for school. The policy of public preschool and the belief that preschool was education were becoming mainstream.

Public preschool programs have continued to expand in number and in enrollment. In 2010, thirty-eight states offered state-funded preschool programs, also known as pre-kindergarten, for three and four year olds. Over 1.2 million children—four percent of all three year olds and twenty five percent of all four year olds—are enrolled in state-funded preschool programs nationwide. An additional 736,000 children—seven percent of all three year olds and eleven percent of all four year olds—were enrolled in the federally-funded Head Start preschool program (NIEER 2009:5).

The development of state and federally-funded preschool represents a radical transformation in the role of the family and the state in the lives of young children. Preschool is an intimate intervention into the family, changing by whom and how young children are educated and socialized. This expansion of public education moves the locus of early learning from the home to the classroom where it can be easily regulated.3 State governments have curriculum and teacher quality standards for their preschool programs, which exceed those for private childcare centers and family child homes (Ackerman and Sansanelli 2010). In addition to teaching, public preschool teachers play a maternal role—wiping noses, teaching manners, building self-esteem—for children in their care. With the long hours some children spent in preschool, preschool teachers may even supplant mothers in time spent care-giving. By providing public preschool, the state assumes primary responsibility for children's early learning and school readiness.

Given the intimacy of this intervention, we would expect the implementation of public preschool to draw protests from small-government and/or pro-traditional family activists. As in debates over vaccination and sex education, state intervention into something as private and as personal as children's early years would seem enraging (Luker 2006). Furthermore, the expansion of public preschool "confronts a countervailing determination to reduce the reach of state governments in education policy" (Imig and Meyer 2007:11). These views are epitomized by evangelist Charles Secrest in his 1971 opposition to federally-funded public preschool:

Do you want your child's basic character and values to be formed by some bumbling government clerk?

Yet many families seem to accept this state intervention into the private sphere. Public preschool attendance is voluntary (as is kindergarten attendance in most states), but enrollment rates are very high (Gilliam 2008). In Oklahoma, for example, over seventy percent of four year olds are enrolled in public preschool, which is comparable to the percentage of children enrolled in kindergarten there (National Center for Education Statistics 2010; NIEER 2009).

Public acceptance of state preschool is likely related to the political and social factors that shaped its adoption, but little research has been done on why states have adopted public preschool. The most prominent narrative is that the development of public preschool was correlated with the increasing number of women, particularly mothers of young children, in the workforce (Cahan 1989; Morado 1989). When more women enter the workforce, public provision of preschool and childcare becomes economically and politically salient because women need preschool to work, and businesses need women to work. Another common explanation among advocates is that preschool was adopted to improve school readiness (Fuller and Liang 1996; Imig and Meyer 2007). In the era of stressed families and global competition, schools must assume more responsibility for early learning—and improve education overall—in order for children to succeed.

However, these causal narratives fail to account for the crucial role played by politics in the adoption of public preschool. Politics mediates states' recognition of and response to the needs and desires of working women, children, businesses, and educators, which influences how public preschool is understood. In this paper, I develop four politically- oriented theoretical frameworks for the adoption of public preschool based on theories of labor, race, representation, and the welfare state and historical precedents of preschool adoption. My approach focuses on the political factors that make demographic and economic change salient. I suggest that public preschool is a means of regulating women's labor in the corporate interest; an intervention into minority family "pathologies"; a way to improve public education and future productivity; a political move to attract voters or deepen Party support; or some combination thereof.

The Why and When of Public Preschool

This paper focuses specifically on the adoption of public preschool run and funded by states. Although the movement for public preschool began at the federal level, the majority of recent action has occurred at the state level. In the 1960s, the federal government established several preschool and childcare programs, notably Project Head Start and the Appalachian Regional Development Program, which provide grants to states and local communities for preschool for children from low-income families (Vinovskis 2005). For several years, it looked as if the federal government would expand these programs to serve all children. In one of his first addresses to Congress, President Richard Nixon promised national action on childcare: "so crucial is the matter of early growth that we must make a na-

tional commitment to providing all American children an opportunity for healthful and stimulating development during the first five years of life" (Nixon 1969 qtd in Quadagno 1994:149). In 1971, the US Congress passed the Comprehensive Child Development Act, which would have provided preschool for all children of working mothers. But to the shock of many, Nixon vetoed the bill. The movement for federal public preschool never recovered, and action shifted to the state level where it has remained ever since (Vinovskis 1999:86).

Since state legislatures develop education policy independently, the state preschool programs vary in terms of curricula, goals, and eligibility. In this paper, I consider a program to be state preschool if it satisfies three criteria. First, the program is public—free to eligible families and available to children statewide. Twenty-five states limit public preschool enrollment to children whose families are below a certain income threshold, while thirteen states have universal preschool programs. Second, the program provides early education, offering a group learning experience to children ages three and four at least two days a week (and usually more). Third, the program is primarily state-run and state-funded, though many states combine federal, state, and local funds to support their preschool programs (NIEER 2009:21). Table 1 shows the years in which states adopted public preschool.

Below I describe potential theoretical and historical frameworks for the adoption of public preschool. Within each, I propose socio- demographic and economic variables that shape "politicians' perception of the need for [preschool], the range of possible decisions, and the consequences of their actions or inactions" (Pavalko 1989:593). These variables suggest why the timing of adoption may have varied across states and allow for future quantitative analysis of their influence on adoption.

Table 1. Timing of States' Adoption of Public Preschool

Year Law	States
1965	California
1966	New York
1979	Maryland

1980	Oklahoma
1981	Maine
1983	West Virginia
1984	South Carolina, Texas
1985	Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Washington, Wisconsin
1987	Florida, Oregon, Vermont
1988	Colorado, Iowa, Louisiana
1990	Kentucky, Ohio
1991	Arizona, Arkansas, Min-
1992	Nebraska
1993	Georgia
1994	Delaware, Virginia
1996	New Jersey
1997	Connecticut
1998	Kansas, Missouri, Ten-
2000	Alabama
2001	North Carolina
2002	Nevada
2004	Pennsylvania
2005	New Mexico
No Public Preschool Program	Alaska, Hawaii, Idaho, Indiana, Mississippi, Montana, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Wyoming

Preschool in the Corporate Interest: Labor Regulation and Working Women

Over the past sixty years, the percent of women working has doubled from thirty percent in 1950 to nearly sixty percent in 2009 (Goldin 1990:20; US Department of Labor 2009). Women now comprise nearly half—46.8 percent—of the labor force in the United States (US Department of Labor 2009). To some scholars, the expansion of public preschool over the same period suggests an association based on ideals of gender equality. Family responsibilities and the high cost of private childcare hamper women's oppor-

tunities to work outside the home when their children are young (Rigby et al. 2007:890). Family policies, such as public preschool, help women achieve full political and economic citizenship (O'Connor 1988:15). Yet given the United States' historically slow adoption of female- friendly policies, it seems unlikely that public preschool would have expanded so quickly if it were a response to recognized gender inequality (O'Connor et al. 1999; Skocpol 1992). I postulate that states adopted public preschool to entice women into the labor force for a different political interest group—private businesses.

Despite nearly equal rates of educational attainment, women's hourly wages remain less than men's at every educational level (McCall 2001:55; US Department of Labor 2005). The reasons for this wage gap are disputed, but its suggestion to profit-maximizing companies is clear. Corporations may prefer to hire women over men because of their relatively cheaper labor (Arizpe and Aranda 1981). Theories of welfare capitalism suggest that the needs of capital for a cheap, reliable labor force would compel governments to implement programs that regulate women's labor force participation (Amenta and Carruthers 1988). Acting on behalf of private business, states may implement public preschool to entice women into and keep them in the labor force.

During World War II, the federal government established public preschools for exactly this reason. To supply wartime products for the Allied governments, the federal government contracted with private companies. Yet with many men deployed overseas, these companies were losing workers at the same time government demand for goods was increasing. The companies need an alternate workforce and tried to hire women, but too few women were in the labor force to meet demand. To support companies and entice women into the labor force, the government started two programs: the Rosie the Riveter propaganda campaign and public children's centers (Gregory 1974:29-39; Stolzfus 2003).

The Lanham Act of 1941 provided six million dollars to provide preschool and childcare in "war-impact areas," cities with high levels of wartime production (Beatty 1995:188). The employment purpose of the Lanham Act children's centers was explicit: the government withdrew funding for preschools outside of "war-impact areas" to focus on day care for the children of women working in the wartime industries (Cahan 1989:42-43). Providing preschool removed one of the major barriers to women's employment, and in combination with Rosie the Riveter's patriotic call to work, the program helped entice over 5 million women to enter the labor force during World War II (Gregory 1974:192). In 1944, the average daily attendance at the

Lanham Act children's centers was over 125,000 children nationwide (Beatty 1995:191).

Once the war ended, the government stopped funding for children's centers to push women out of the labor force (Stolzfus 2003:10). The decline in military production decreased companies' need for labor, and, because of prevailing gender norms, companies preferred to have a male labor force if possible. The government also wanted to ensure that employment opportunities were available for returning veterans. Working women in many areas tried to mobilize and convince the federal government to continue funding and/or states and localities to maintain public preschool, but only one state, California, maintained its Lanham Act children's centers (Stolzfus 2003:13). With the loss of public preschool and an increased normative emphasis on homemaking, women's labor force participation declined in the 1950s. The federal government used preschool to regulate women's labor force participation for corporate interests during World War II.

Yet corporate and government interests are rarely so aligned at the state level (with the possible exception of states in the South).

Political factors, such as public attitudes toward big business, corporate campaign donations, and economic conditions, determine the extent to which governments support corporate interests. The unemployment rate is likely a key mediator of governments' response to corporate interests. When unemployment is high, the public may be angry at corporations and their lay-offs, so governments make welfare programs more generous to absorb excess workers and quell social unrest (Piven and Cloward [1971] 1993:337-338). When unemployment is low, governments decrease the generosity of welfare programs to force more individuals into the workforce, increasing the labor supply and driving down labor costs for corporations' benefit (Piven and Cloward [1971] 1993:123-144). Since public preschool is a means of enticing women into the workforce when labor is needed, its expansion should move in the opposite direction of welfare generosity. Given this theoretical framework, adoption should occur in states when unemployment is low and workers are needed and be delayed or non- existent when unemployment is high.

However, Piven and Cloward's theory of welfare generosity and labor regulation is distinctive for its focus on the poor. States may regulate the labor force participation of more highly educated women differently. Increasingly, corporations are concerned about the attrition of educated mothers from the workforce rather than about women's entry into the workforce (Still 2006:63). Corporations invest time and money into training young female workers, but a substantial number of women, particularly married women, decide to leave the labor force or work part- time after having children. This

attrition may be particularly problematic when a higher percentage of women are already working; there is a smaller pool of untapped female labor from which to hire. In hopes of recruiting and retaining educated female workers, many corporations established on-site day care centers and family friendly policies in the 1980s and 1990s, but attrition continues (Hochschild 1997:22-23). Some corporations and large non-profits, which face similar labor issues, began to lobby for public preschool (Witt 1989; Imig and Meyer 2007:4). Since state governments lose employees at motherhood as well, they may share corporations' interest in maintaining the labor force participation of educated women. Public preschool is an ideal solution: it can be framed as business-friendly and family- friendly, endearing politicians to both types of interest groups. Accordingly, the adoption of public preschool may coincide with higher levels of female employment and late or non-existent adoption to coincide with lower levels of female employment. To support production and an educated labor force, states may have adopted public preschool as a means to regulate labor in the corporate interest.

Preschool as the Better Parent: "Mother Blaming" and Cultural Deficiency

While promoting the newly established Georgia Voluntary Pre- Kindergarten program in 1995, Governor Zell Miller highlighted the educational and social deficiencies of children from low-income families in Georgia. He said, "When we started this program, we knew that four out of every ten five-year olds who walked into their kindergarten classes on the first day did not know their numbers, colors or letters and had practically no social skills." Because these children never caught up, they dropped out of school, producing "a cycle of teen pregnancies, unemployment, welfare and crime." The advent of public preschool, however, solves all of these problems, turning poor children into "more productive children with better jobs and brighter futures" (Miller 1995).

Like Governor Miller, advocates in many states have proposed preschool as a panacea for the social problems associated with poverty. Part of this argument is data driven: the High/Scope Perry Preschool project, an oft-cited longitudinal study of 123 African-American children from low-income families, found that individuals who participated in preschool were less likely to be arrested or on welfare at the age of forty and were more likely to have graduated from high school (Belfield et al. 2005). Implicit in this argument, however, is a common racial and socioeconomic stereotype of "mother

blaming," the idea that poor and/or non-white mothers are responsible for their children's educational and social deficiencies

(Ladd-Taylor and Umansky 1998). To provide a future for these children, the government must intervene in poor and/or non-white families to socialize their children to mainstream educational and behavioral norms. State preschool is thus conceptualized as a better parent for these marginalized children than their own parents are.

At the federal level, the narrative of preschool as the better parent emerged in the 1960s during a period of rapid social change. The Civil Rights movement emphasized racial disparities and the need for educational and social integration. At the same time, President Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty brought attention to the plight of children and families in poverty (Vinoskis 2005). These political movements spurred research on the origins of poverty, much of which focused on familial causes as exemplified in the work of Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Moynihan argued that matriarchal family structure—unwed or divorced working black mothers, often on public assistance—was partially responsible for the high crime rates, low educational attainment, and economic alienation of black children and communities (1965). With the political push for integration and poverty alleviation, the previously invisible problem of "Bad Black Mothers" and cycle of poverty needed a policy solution, and prominent psychologists proposed preschool (Hill Collins 2005:131-138; Steinberg

1981; Vinovskis 2005). Their "idea of using preschool to boost intelligence" became Project Head Start, the longest running federal preschool program (Beatty 1995:193).

Similarly, the very first state public preschool programs arose during times of social stress as government interventions to correct familial deficiencies. In the 1820s and 1830s, New York, Philadelphia, and several cities in Massachusetts operated large-scale public "infant schools" for three and four year olds within their public school systems. In Massachusetts, for example, nearly forty percent of three year olds were enrolled in public schools during the 1839 to 1840 school year (Beatty 1995:23). Urbanization and industrialization had brought many rural families and immigrants to Northeastern cities, who political and education leaders feared were not socialized to middle-class (white) American mores. By providing "moral instruction for poor children" as early as possible, infant schools could correct the deficiencies imparted by immigrant parents and prevent the development of deviant behavior for the good of children and society (Beatty 1995:26). Children were even instructed to teach their parents the moral and behavioral lessons they learned in schools, which demonstrates the extent to which infant

school advocates saw poor and immigrant parents as inadequate. Due to competing funding needs in elementary education, all infant schools closed in the 1840s, but they set a precedent of conceptualizing public preschool as the better parent.

States may follow this precedent of mother-blaming and state intervention in the latest iteration of public preschool. Politicians likely discover the need for early socialization in times of social stress and demographic change. Accordingly, adoption should coincide either with higher proportions of individuals of color or a higher change in the proportion of individuals of color. Furthermore, with the liberalization of abortion access, the stereotype of the "Bad Black Mother" has been extended to other weak or poorly performing family structures, including teen mothers and low-income mothers of all races. Since motherhood is now perceived as a "choice," any woman who bears a child under non-ideal circumstances is deemed a bad mother (Solinger 2000:169). Thus, adoption should occur in states with higher proportions of teenage mothers and/or children in poverty or higher rates of change in these socio-demographic measures. Since the immigrant population is now far more diverse in race, education levels, and legal status than in the 1820s, I do not expect an association between adoption and population of immigrant children (Chiswick and DebBurman 2004). States may have adopted public preschool as a solution to the negative family pathologies of poor families and families of color.

Preschool for Future Productivity: Public Education and Global Competition

Historically, public schools have served as a socializing agent not solely for the lower class, but for all children (Bowen 2007:12). States established public education to create productive citizens. Over the past sixty years, emphasis on this goal of education has increased as governments have recognized education's role in building "human capital" and "cultural capital" (Becker 1964 and Bourdieu and Passeron 1977 qtd. in O'Connor 1988:15). Public education not only encourages individual development and economic mobility, but also produces educated workers who will contribute to government revenue. But to ensure a prepared workforce and future productivity, public education must evolve to meet states' changing social and economic demands (Ravitch 2000). Preschool may have been an educational response to the large economic shift of the late twentieth century—globalization.

Due to globalization, many areas of the United States have de- industrialized. With factories moving overseas for cheaper labor, states could no longer depend on industry, and the vast number of low skilled workers employed in it, for their tax base. To stay competitive, states needed a highly

trained workforce, and to do so, politicians demanded change in their public education systems (Vinoskis 1999:86). After all, in 1970, only half of American adults over the age of twenty-five had graduated from high school (US Census 1970). The need for educational reform was particularly pressing in states with lower high school graduation rates. As job opportunities for unskilled workers eroded, continuing to educate children for an obsolete job market would harm the state financially and create high potential for future unemployment and political unrest (Piven and Cloward [1971] 1993:338).

Amid the scramble for effective educational policies that ensued, preschool emerged as a possible solution. Since the 1950s, prominent psychologists like Arnold Gessell at Yale argued that preschool improves the school readiness of children from all socio-economic backgrounds (Beatty 1995:145-168). Research also showed that preschool helps children develop social and communication skills, skills that are increasingly essential to compete in a global marketplace (Lareau 2002; Zigler et al. 2006). Emerging research from the High/Scope Perry Preschool Project and other major longitudinal studies suggested that preschool improved high school graduation and employment rates (Belfield et al. 2005). For states in need of educational innovation, preschool became an appealing new idea because of its "strong scientific evidence" and "well-heeled" advocates, including consultants from the High/Scope Foundation (Imig and Meyer 2007:4; Riley 1982). Some governors used the research to alleviate political opposition and justify their intimate intervention into early learning. As one of South Carolina Governor Riley's aides wrote, "As a warrior chooses the most appropriate weapon for battle, so Governor Riley looked for research data to help state the case for early childhood" (1983).

Other states may have acted similarly, using research to create political momentum for preschool and preschool to produce a more educated workforce. Since the percent of high school graduates differed state to state, states' relative need for educational reform varied and should influence the timing of enacting public preschool. States with lower high school graduation rates have a greater need for educational reform and will likely seek innovative policy solutions to improve their poor public education systems. Given the theorized role preschool plays in future state productivity, preschool should appear earlier in states with lower levels of high school graduates.

The Politics of Preschool: Children's Constituencies and Institutional Politics

As the above theoretical frameworks indicate, public preschool is not a simple response to socio-demographic or economic indicators, but a political-

ly influenced action. Institutional interests and ideological framing influence the emergence, and the choice, of public preschool as a policy solution. The concept of preschool as a better parent, for example, frames poverty as problem associated with family patterns and represents preschool as a government intervention into these family pathologies. In addition, politics influences the adoption of public preschool directly through voting patterns and political representation. Voters endorse policy solutions through the politicians they elect. Conversely, politicians weight social norms, their own values, and the need for re-election in their dual role as agents of constituents' and/or party interests and as actors in their own right (Skocpol 1992:41). Three factors should shape the political use of preschool: voter support for public preschool, political party ideology, and regional political institutions.

As constituents, both working women and parents of young children have self-interest in public preschool. Working women may vote on behalf of their current or future self as a working mother and support politicians who advocate for public preschool. Nonetheless, the women's movement as a whole has been disinterested in public preschool and childcare policy.

The income-eligibility criteria of most public preschool programs excludesthe middle-class women who formed the core of the women's movement from receiving the benefit of public preschool, so their self-interest and thus the movement's political interest in preschool policy has been limited (Quadagno 1989:149). Yet, however small the actual support of female voters, the alignment of working women's and businesses' interests creates a powerful political frame for public preschool and an impetus for politicians to act. Adoption may occur when a higher proportion of women work because of corresponding voter and corporate interests.

Parents of young children, on the other hand, have an immediate economic interest in public preschool (Preston 1984). If the government provided public preschool, parents' expenditure on preschool and childcare would substantially decrease. Even families in which one parent stays at home might support public preschool because of the perceived educational benefit for children. Given this self-interest in public preschool, parents of young children may be more likely to support politicians that endorse public preschool. Adoption of public preschool may occur in states when the percent of child-friendly voters, parents of young children, is high.

The population of child friendly voters may overlap with another constituency likely to support public preschool—Democrats. Since the 1930s, the Democratic Party has been the major advocate for women's rights, welfare generosity, and public education at the national level. In fact, the first

federal preschool program was part of the New Deal, the broad economic and welfare reform package that defines the modern Democratic Party. In 1933, Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) established public nursery schools for children aged two to five whose family was on relief (Beatty 1995:177). By the late 1930s, these nursery schools enrolled upwards of 100,000 children a year and employed nearly 8,000 people (Cahan 1989:38; Beatty 1995:184). Although the emergency nurseries were disbanded during World War II, public preschool remains an appealing issue to the Democratic Party and its core constituencies.

In contrast, the Republican Party has strong associations with religious and social conservatives, many of who have ideological objections to government intervention into the family. In 1971, for example, when Congress was considering the Child Development Act, conservative Republicans framed public preschool as socialism (Quadagno 1994:152). Ideological commitment to the traditional family fuels much of this opposition: conservative advocates, such as James Dobson of Focus on the Family, argue that preschool and other public education programs weaken the family and may even harm children (Dobson 1984). Public preschool affronts the ideal of the traditional family because it transforms the educational aspect of motherhood "from a sacred calling to a job"—that of a preschool teacher (Luker 1984:205). If these Party ideologies are consistent in state-level decision-making, states with Democratic governors should be more likely to enact public preschool than states with Republican governors. The effect of political party affiliations on policy may be even greater at the state level because state legislatures have quicker response times and governors more formal power over legislation than at the national level (Amenta 1998).

Political parties also exert normative pressures on public policy. Once one governor adopts public preschool, the idea of preschool as a policy solution circulates through political networks, such as the Democratic Governors' Association. In need of effective education policy, governors may adopt public preschool as a form of educational isomorphism. As Powell and DiMaggio explain, "efforts to deal rationality with uncertaintyand constraint often lead, in the aggregate, to homogeneity in structure"

through imitation or development under similar constraints (DiMaggio 1991:64). And once a few governors, likely Democrats, adopted public preschool, preschool becomes a normalized education policy, putting further pressure on the remaining governors of their party to implement public preschool.

The idea of preschool as policy solution may have circulated regionally as well. Each region has its own governors' association—the Southern Gov-

ernors' Association, the Coalition of Northeastern Governors, the Midwestern Governors Association, and the Western Governors' Association—through which policy ideas are shared. Contiguous states have additional political exchange, regardless of their governor's party affiliation, because physical proximity facilitates communication between legislators and voters and increases the strategic importance of information sharing. Given these political exchange networks, the adoption of public preschool may behave like a political contagion and spread through regional and party networks (James 2007). When a state adopts public preschool, the press coverage and advocacy efforts may spillover to neighboring states, generating a contagion effect. If political contagion did occur, states will adopt public preschool more quickly when other states in a region have public preschool. Political contagion may have enhanced the effect of educational isomorphism within party networks because of the alignment of the regional trends and Party norms. Thus, adoption may have occurred more quickly and more thoroughly in states with Democratic governors. Party ideology, regional political institutions, and voter support likely influenced the adoption of public preschool as an education policy.

Conclusion

Contrary to prominent causal narratives, the historical precedents of public preschool at the state and federal level complicate the idea that preschool is a direct response to the needs of working women or children. The theoretical frameworks developed here illustrate the complex role politics plays in mediating states' adoption of public preschool. As a powerful political interest group, corporations may induce governments to establish public preschool as means of regulating women's labor force participation. Political movements may raise awareness of the social problems associated with poverty and construct preschool as an intervention into family pathologies. Governments' concerns about economic competitiveness may produce educational innovations, including public preschool. Party ideology and density of child-friendly voters may have also influenced politicians' action on public preschool.

To determine the validity of these theoretical frameworks, state- level research on the circumstances of adoption is needed. Yet the trend toward more states implementing public preschool in the past few decades suggests the relevance of political factors. Once a few states adopted public preschool, the public and the politicians had some idea of public preschool's effect on educational outcomes: studies of public preschool programs have shown a positive impact on children's cognitive development and school readiness in

most states (Wong et al. 2007). Supported by this additional scientific evidence, legislators have expanded existing public preschool programs, and twelve states have transitioned to universal preschool (NIEER 2009). The continued expansion suggests public and/ or Party support for public preschool and continued isomorphism. On the other hand, opposition to the adoption of public preschool increasingly looks like an ideological stance on either the traditional family or public expenditure in the interest of corporations and working women. Tea Party- endorsed governor-elect of Iowa Terry Branstad, for example, campaigned on the promise to end the state's universal preschool program, arguing that families or the private sector should educate young children (Hupp 2010). Political networks and the ideological framing of women's labor continue to influence the adoption of public preschool in the United States. Governor Riley's progressive notion that "education begins with a quality preschool" has become educationally mainstream, but remains politically contested.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Professors Julia Adams, Averil Clarke, and Hannah Brueckner for their encouragement and advice over the long evolution of this project. The Yale College Deans' Fellowship in the Humanities and Social Sciences provided me with generous summer funding without which my archival research would not have been possible.

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Social psychological situation and stratification of the modern society in Iran Islamic republic on the context of the international human rights

Richard Morgan H.

Abstract *As we know the twentieth century is synonymous with achievements in the spheres of science and the technology along with the attendant positive and negative circumstances arising from these developments. Hence it is not surprisingly, therefore when philosophers from all over the world gathered in Boston in August 1998 for the 20th World Congress of Philosophy to discuss the most important contemporary problems the majority of these problems were bound up with the revolution in the spheres of science and technology. Since the morality is closely intertwined with social and technological achievements, it is essential to underline the necessity of moral reevaluation and the need to be flexible and tolerant concerning value orientations if we wish to avoid global instability.*

Yet, the reason for many of these problems is pedagogical because only through education [which facilities a realization of our role in the existence of global problems] does the human race have a chance to minimize, if not eliminate, the negative consequences of science and technology

Keywords: *Social, International, unsustainable*

Received *07.01.2018*
Accepted *15.06.2018*

DOI 378.014.15

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Introduction

About the importance of human values: Despite constant efforts and urgent attempts to overcome these global problems the best we have are only some moderate results. Important decisions have not been made and important

actions have not been taken. Serious reasons exist to think we are proceeding in the wrong direction in trying to find solutions. Our efforts aim to influence effects, not causes. As a result, we disclose new unintended problems even as we overcome some difficulties. And like a person trying to remove weeds by their leaves without removing their roots we go on wondering why the weeds continue to grow thicker and richer. So to seek the roots of our global problems one should first attempt an active beginning.

We humans find ourselves in a particularly precarious situation as we enter the new millennium, in which values other than those which respect and nurture and protect the Human Beings of the planet Earth are being promoted and foisted upon us in ways that are devastating to our fragile life support system and to Human safety, and to the Human spirit.

We have all of the necessary elements for creating a peaceful, safe and nurturing environment for all of the peoples of this Earth. We have intelligence, yet we lack wisdom. We have science and technology, yet much scientific endeavor is dedicated to destruction and weapons, rather than benefiting humankind. Medical marvels are inequitably distributed. We understand Human development and the needs for nutrition and healthful living conditions, yet children the world over are starving by the thousands.

We know enough about psychology to recognize the roots of hatreds and fears, yet groups of us continue to find ourselves manipulated into the dangerous and outmoded "we or they" manner of thinking, rather than considering our whole Human family, and acknowledging that we are more alike than we are different. We understand and even sign declarations agreeing that there are universal Human Rights and inherent freedoms, yet somehow the manifestation of power and moneyed interests, and the age old reversion to militarism as a method of problem solving continue to defy all logic and prevent us Humans from creating the peaceful world we dream of and long for.

If the heads of corporations and governments, financial and military institutions, and other vested interests that have such a profound impact on Human well being, would take responsibility and consider the consequences of their decisions in terms of their own personal loved ones being affected by conscienceless actions taken, such as bombing, polluting, exploiting, and placing more value on profits than on people, then we would begin to see a moral awakening.

We all have values instilled in us by our upbringing and our life s experiences; we have many different belief systems many different ethnic, racial and religious tradition; but the values which most of us share are those of safety and happiness for our loved ones and ourselves. If these personal values became the criteria by which we evaluate our Human well-being and became the primary focus of Human activity, putting aside short-term self-centered gains, as well as rethinking old enmities and fears, there might be a happier future for all of Humankind.

Modern texnolgy, Social problems and modern stratification: İn the last decade, science and tecnology have abruptly changed the human condition. Prior to the twentieth centry, a nations habits, norms, values, and social relations tended to be resistant to external influences and to be resistant to external influences and to be conservativein character. Under the pressures of science and technology, especially influencing a nations economy, the modern world began transforming into our more global contemporary world. As this transformation continues, every aspect of the human condition alters. For example, transnational corporations turn the sphere of trade among countries into a global common market. Communication advanced create a common space of information [which increases the speed while decreasing the time for social relations]. Alterations in our spiritual life, also, go hand-in-hand with these changesin culture , science, and politics. Thus, all of these transformations which influence our human condition create a smaller planet in which people become more interdependent.

Modern Iraninan Islamic Society and the World social problems: Aspects of Iranian family and gender have changed dramatically; examples include the mostrapid fertility decline ever observed, from over six births to slightly above two in the 1985-2000 period [Abbasi-Shavazi 2000, 2001, 2002; Abbasi-Shavazi and McDonald 2005]. Also, women's educational attainment has increased dramatically and women now outnumber men in advanced education. But equally striking is the stability of other traditional patterns. Labor force participation is low for women, especially low for those married and with children [Mehryar and Tajdini 1998]. Women marry relatively young [although age at marriage is rising], virtually all women marry, and there is no evidence of voluntary childlessness [Abbasi-Shavazi 2000]. How can we understand this mixture of family change and stability in the Islamic Republic of Iran, the world's most visible theocracy?

Our empirical focus is on a small component of family and fertility change, the length of the interval between marriage and first pregnancy. This focus is not driven by the importance of this change in accounting for the dramatic fertility decline noted above-- in this respect the lengthening of the period to first pregnancy is trivial [see Hosseini-Chavoshi, McDonald and Abbasi-Shavazi, Forthcoming]. Rather we concentrate on the first pregnancy interval because of its substantive importance as a possible marker of the changing nature of marriage and gender relations. Alternatively, the changes we document may reflect an attempt to maintain the status quo in the face of exigencies encouraging marriage and fertility delay.

More generally, we contrast two broad theoretical interpretations. First, a widely-used theoretical model posits a shift in family structure from arranged to companionate marriage driven by industrialization and western ideology [e.g., Goode 1963; also see Thornton 2001; 2005]. This fundamental shift in the basis for marriage would, in turn, predict the observed changes in the first pregnancy

interval. Alternatively, the changes we document could reflect an attempt to maintain the status quo in the face of exigencies encouraging marriage and fertility delay. In developing both these explanations we borrow from Sewell [1992;2005] [as elaborated by Johnson-Hanks et al [2006]] a "duality of structure" approach that emphasizes the interactions of schemas, such as taken-for-granted interpretations of marriage and gender, and resources, such as modern contraception and the power of economic, political and religious institutions Below we explain our interest in the first birth interval and then develop competing explanations that can account for recent large increases in birth control use between marriage and the first birth. This exercise provides a window into family and gender in contemporary Iran.

Sosial structure of the Iranian families: An attractive feature of demographic work is the relative ease of some key measurements. For instance, substantial agreement can and has been reached on the measurement of births and deaths, events anchored in biology. Certainly compared with many other social science concepts, these events are well measured and have similar meanings across time and space [see Morgan and Lynch 2001]. The timing of first birth, for instance, usually corresponds with the transition to parenthood and is a major event biologically and socially. Here we will focus on first pregnancy that is nine months removed from first birth for most women1. Marriage on the other hand has a less certain meaning. Across contexts it may or may not signal the beginning of intercourse, spousal co-residence, an attempt to establish a close emotional bond, an attempt to institutionalize a familial division of labor, etc. The distinction made here between the "fixed" meaning of the first birth [or pregnancy] and marriage is a relative one. Our claim [building on Rindfuss and Morgan 1983 and Wang and Quanhe 1996] is that we can use the timing and sequencing of first birth and marriage as a way of indexing marriage and gender change, since the meaning of first birth is relatively fixed.

For instance, Rindfuss and Morgan [1983] document shortening first birth intervals [i.e., shorter durations between marriage and first birth] in a number of Asian contexts. While they consider a range of possible explanations, they conclude that the shortening of the first birth interval was the result of increasing coital frequency early in marriage2.6 The more frequent coitus, in turn, reflected a shift in marriage from arranged marriages to ones with substantial input from the partners. Rindfuss and Morgan argued that greater familiarity, initial closeness and physical attraction associated with "love matches" was conducive to more frequent coitus.

This empirical finding has been replicated and its interpretation often adopted [see Wang and Quanhe 1996]. In fact, we will document a similar phe-

[1] For those whose first conception failed to produce a live birth the event is also likely well remembered as a crisis early in married life.

[2] Rindfuss and Morgan show that the increase that could have this effect is from very low levels [0-2 times per month] to levels closer to "normal" [8-12 times per month].

nomena for Iranians married between 1970 and 1990 and for the full range of marriage cohorts we examine [1970-2000] if those using birth control are excluded.

Note that the shortening of the first birth interval as described by Rindfuss and Morgan was still within a view of marriage as primarily a context for parenthood. In short, marriage was postponed until the couple was ready to become parents. In the Asian contexts studied by Rindfuss and Morgan [Taiwan, Malaysia, and Korea] and Wang and Quanhe [China], initially there was little contraceptive use in the first birth interval despite its use at higher parities in all of these contexts. In contrast, birth control use immediately after marriage is becoming common in Iran, especially among the most educated. How do we understand this new phenomenon? Is it best understood as signaling change -- an emerging feminist ideology and companionate marriage? Or is the use of birth control allowing for maintenance of an early marriage regime consistent with Iranian-Islamist ideology?

Conceptualizing Family Change and Stability in modern Iran society: Following Sewell [1992; 2005] and building on Johnson-Hanks et. al. [2006], we conceptualize social change as resulting from interdependent changes in virtual and material structure, i.e., schema and resources. Schemas , virtual structures, are taken-for-granted ways of classifying, interpreting, and engaging the world. Resources include land and capital, but also information, physical capacities, normative practices, legislation, etc. Social structure [that produces persistent patterns of behavior] emerges/changes from the interplay of schema and resources over time. The loci of structural change are conjunctures, short-term configurations of context that incorporate both structure and contingency. In conjunctures, social actors—whether individuals or groups—employ the schemas and resources available to them to make sense of what is happening, and to act. Employing available schemas and resources can reinforce them or occasionally alter them.

This conceptualization has a number of advantages [Johnson-Hanks et.al. 2006:3]. Most relevant to this research is its move beyond interpretations of change driven by “ideology” or “material” changes to an examination of their interaction; this perspective also shows how individual decisions can accumulate to reify structure or to produce structural change. In short, actors confront new exigencies with available schemas and the resources for employing them. At the margin, actors can be innovative because new exigencies entail uncertainty regarding appropriate behavior and because new resources may make new [old] behaviors plausible [problematic].

We are interested in how Iranian couples and society respond to the contemporary, internationally pervasive exigencies posed by economic development and globalization, i.e., a high premium on human capital formation, an expanding range of consumer items, and low economic security/predictability. Two other pervasive contextual components are Western ideas promoting egali-

tarian marriages and the availability of highly effective birth control. Many studies have applied the life course framework to show how individuals respond to more training/schooling, higher aspirations, and insecurity [see Blossfeld 2005; Thornton and Lin 1994]. Young men and women do not eschew marriage and parenthood; they postpone it. Cross nationally, the postponement of parenthood is a ubiquitous response to these factors. But how is this postponement realized? Given effective contraception, the logical possibilities include: frequent no marital unions and relationships but postponement of marriage and childbearing [e.g., Scandinavia, Northern Europe and the U.S. see Bumpass, Sweet and Cherlin 1991]; abstinence and postponement of both marriage and childbearing [e.g., Southern Europe, much of Asia and in Iran]; or early marriage and birth control within marriage [e.g., an emerging pattern we observe in Iran]. Each strategy postpones parenthood and thus facilitates other investments and activities. How do we explain the Iranian proclivity for the latter two, especially the last?

A first explanation, the conjugal or Western marriage argument, offers an answer and is consistent with Sewell's [1992, 2005] broad ["duality of structure"] framework. The conjugal family argument also has appeal based on longstanding theoretical and empirical claims of global convergence in family forms. Specifically, Goode [1963] argued that Western ideologies supporting free mate choice and egalitarianism [western family schemas] were overwhelmingly attractive to nonwestern indigenous young people. Further, if accompanied by economic development and non familial employment [that shifted control of key resources to young adults], industrialization allowed the freedom from elders necessary for young people to act on the basis of this new schema – to choose one's partner, to marry for love, and to build couple centered egalitarian relationships. The global march of industrialization and the ideology that accompanied it were powerful agents of family change. Goode argued they would produce a global, isomorphic conjugal family form. This conjugal marriage explanation has appeal. It acknowledges the duality of schemas and resources [western schemas and new resources emanating from no familial labor]. It has grand scope. Plus much empirical change is consistent with it, e.g, in Iran fertility is declining, age at marriage is rising, free mate choice is becoming more common and nuclear residence is frequent in urban areas [see Ladier-Fouladi 2000]. And, most to the point for purposes here, contraceptive use before the first birth is increasing. Further, the conjugal marriage legitimates partnerships for companionship and intimacy net of and distinct from parenthood. Thus increasing contraceptive use could be viewed as part of this conjugal family "package".

But also consistent with the Sewell conceptual approach, are path dependent explanations that stress cultural and historical continuity and the importance of historical events. Given the tumultuous history of Iran in the period of study, consideration of these special circumstances seems wise. McDonald

[1994] posits that a fundamental structural component of all societies is an idealized family morality, i.e, "deep", "foundational" schemas supported by considerable resources [Johnson-Hanks 2006; also see Sewell 1992]. Because family structure is central to biological and social replacement [functional prerequisites to group survival] this morality is fundamental to societal and individual identity. Domesticity and motherhood are the core components of Iranian women's traditional family schemas. The lynchpins [i.e. resources key to its maintenance] are a sharp gendered division of labor and clear gender stratification. Early marriage is seen, probably correctly so, as a key behavior for maintaining both. Consistent with these claims, only a small percentage of Iranian women worked outside the home after the Revolution [approximately 7% of women], twice this percentage were employed prior to the Revolution [Mehryar and Tajdini. 1998]. The susceptibility of traditional behavior to change will vary with the availability of alternative schema, the resources available for the enactment of each, and the actors' assessment of the best course of action. A key factor is the extent to which deviation from the idealized morality is tolerated. In particular, McDonald [1994; also see Abbasi-Shavazi and McDonald, forthcoming] argues that there is little variation from the idealized family morality in countries where the family system is reinforced by a strong social morality, that is, where "variation from the ideal is deemed to be illegal, antisocial, or contrary to the teachings of the prevailing religion". In such countries, the dominant family schemas are policed by the strong formal institutions of the society, principally the institutions of religion and the state. In Sewell's [1992; 2005] terms, traditional schemas are supported by strong institutional resources.

The Iranian social situation: In order to adequately consider an Iranian path dependent model, we sketch a minimalist view of the relevant history as it relates to gender and family. Iranians frequently tell Americans "we [Persians] have 2,500 years of history!" The contrast with the U.S. is left unstated but signals the import of longevity as a signal feature of great civilizations. Jared Diamond's [1999] Guns, Germs and Steel are the latest to offer an explanation for the ascendancy of the West compared to Persia. Without endorsing his theory, we take as fact the West's ascendancy and the era of the Pahlavi Shah [the 1960s and 70s] as a point of departure. The Shah attempted to Westernize Iran using all the resources of the state [including money from the country's oil reserves]. Aghajanian [1991:709] notes that in the decade prior to the Revolution [1976-86], the government had two policy approaches aimed at family and gender: one aimed at "enhancing the legal and social status of women and increasing their participation in the social and economic domains outside the household." The second policy aim was to lower fertility by making contraception widely available. Fertility was indeed declining during this decade, although the role of family planning efforts is in dispute [Raftery, Lewis and Aghajanian 1995]. By the end of the 1970s, many Iranians considered their country wealthy but that they themselves were not sharing the fruits of that wealth. This frustration coupled

with the insensitivity of the Shah's modernization campaign to religious and cultural values lead to regime change through popular revolution, the only example of such change in the Middle East 10 in the past 40 years. The strong and viable alternative at the time was an Islamic Republic. Iran became a state with a new constitution in which all legislation passed by parliament must be reviewed by a Guardianship Council before being enacted. The Council consisting of leading Muslim clerics evaluates legislation against shari'a law and the Republic's constitution. Reform in the new republic was focused upon the application of a conservative social and religious regime and upon the realignment of foreign relationships.

Wright [2000], in the Last Great Revolution, describes the Republic's early years of turmoil and the rejection of nearly everything Western. Appropriate Islamic public dress and appearance were codified and these rules strictly enforced; gender segregation was pervasive in public places; and domestic roles of women were glorified. Early marriage and motherhood were encouraged. Legal marriage ages were lowered to 13 and 15 [from 15 and 18] for females and males, respectively. Family planning was labeled an imperialist plot to reduce the number of Muslims [Hoodfar and Assadpour 2000]. Many family planning clinics were closed and clinic personnel transferred to other jobs [Aghajanian 1991:712]. Fertility increased after the Revolution due to these changes and other pronatalist policies [some possibly traceable to the Iran-Iraq War. See Abbasi-Shavazi et. al. 2002]. In fact, in the decade, following the Revolution Iran had the fastest population growth rate in the world [nearly 4% per year, see Aghajanian 1991; Mirzaie 1998], driven primarily by total fertility rates of more than six births per woman. By the late 1980s the excesses of the Revolution were colliding with the realities of governing an oil rich country of nearly 60 million people [See Wright 2000:160-165]. The year, 1986, constituted something of a watershed in the demographic history of Iran. In that year, the oil price plummeted greatly reducing the revenues of the government, the war with Iraq was in its sixth year with no sign of resolution and the Islamic Republic's first census revealed the massive growth of population and the high fertility rates that characterized the first years of the revolution. For six years the populace had experienced unmet economic aspirations now coupled with falling oil prices, and a broad sense that worsening circumstances were likely. For a country that had always struggled in finding work for its burgeoning numbers of young people, the future challenge seemed immense. Over the next few years a series of meetings were held in this crisis environment. Hoodfar and Assadpour [2000] describe how policy makers and intellectuals lobbied religious leaders on the "population crisis"3 7. But before religious leaders could embrace family

[3] Also see Abbasi-Shavazi et. al. 2002 for a more detailed discussion. Two government departments are known to have played a major role in the initiation of the family planning debate and in keeping it alive: the Ministry of Health and the Plan and Budget Organization. The first had been responsible for the family planning

planning they needed to reinterpret it, not as they had previously as a tool of Western imperialism but, as inherently Islamic.

The religious authorities saw as their first and primary task to dispel the myth that the population debate originated in modern Western society. Reviewing debates on the permissibility of fertility control and sponsoring research and republication of medieval Islamic works on population and contraception, they established that concern about population had preoccupied Muslim scholars long before it was discussed in the West. Thus, the authorities were able to celebrate Iran's Islamic heritage, to promote family planning, and to reinforce their independence from the West [Hoodfar and Assadpour 2000: 28].

Once fit within an Islamic schema, major clerics endorsed family planning. In fact, having only the children that one can care for is now interpreted consistently as an obligation of good Muslim mothers and fathers. Religious leaders took an active role in relaying the message. Government funded family planning clinics quickly re-emerged. Analogous to China's 'barefoot doctors", thousands of women from around the country were recruited and lightly trained as medical professionals [Mehryar and Ahmad-Nia 2005]. Afterward they returned to home villages with the message and materials needed for effective family planning. The result of all of these changes was the dramatic decline in the total fertility rate. [see Abbasi-Shavazi 2000, 2001, 2002; Abbasi-Shavazi and McDonald 2005]. Post-revolutionary gender liberalization has been far more uneven. On the one hand, highly visible reforms included such changes as separation of the sexes in schools and public places, and the enforcement of a strict dress code. The Islamic view is that women are different from, but not inferior to, men. Nevertheless male/female differences [in reproduction and parenthood] necessitate different rights and obligations. Thus a gendered division of labor and gender stratification remains fundamental pillars of gendered behavior in contemporary Iran. Using Aghajanian's [1991:712] understated description: …the roles and status of women were more narrowly circumscribed in the context of the new Islamic Republic. Religious and political leaders suggested that the dignity of women would be best attained if they were restored to domestic areas and to raising generations of good Muslims. Legal and social changes were introduced and enforced to perpetuate the traditional role of women and to remove all influences deriving from policies of Westernization. On the other hand and contrary to Western stereotypes, an egalitarian spirit prevailed in the streets during the period of the revolution. Males and females alike joined in the demonstrations, marches and strikes that culminated in the Islamic Republic of Iran. This visible participation of women presented a new image of females, and women themselves recognized their strength in numbers [Touba 1985:131]. More concretely, the egalitarian nature of the revolution extended to women full access to education and health services. Iranian girls and women remain in

program prior to the Revolution and had remained deeply committed to the health implications of contraceptive access.

schools and universities for more years than in the past. University enrollment has shifted in favor of girls. In 1998, 52 per cent of government university admits were girls.

This figure increased to 57 per cent in 1999, to 60 percent in 2000, and to 62 percent in 2001[Abdollahyan, 2004]. The state's willingness to tolerate some change in order to maintain early marriage is illustrated by contemporary marriage requirements and incentives. For instance, beginning in the early 1990s, before couples could obtain a marriage certificate they were required to attend a family counseling class. These classes provide explicit information about human reproduction and about specific methods of birth control. Couples are encouraged to plan both the timing and number of their births. In addition, engaged couples are provided with a "starter sample" of a recommended contraceptive method. The enactment of this policy provides a concrete example of an important event; one that offers both new schemas and resources for implementing new behavior.

The government also provided direct incentives to marry and targeted the more educated women. Various government organizations [e.g., the Youth Organization] have indicated the importance of providing incentives including financial support for young men and women to marry. The Office of Supreme Leader at universities across Iran have initiated programs that encourage students [men and women] in their universities' to marry. For instance at Tehran University in recent years, the Office of Supreme Leader organized public ceremonies on religious occasions to acknowledge students who married other student in the university. The couples were presented with gold coins [worth approximately 170 US$] by the government and other community donors provided basic amenities to the couples, items such as a refrigerator, carpet etc. Many other universities have similar ceremonies. As another example, in 2003, the mayor of Tehran [and now the Iranian President, Dr. Mohmoud Ahmadinejad] proposed loans and housing allowances for newly married couples. Interestingly, the 2005 elected government in its first meeting held in the city of Mashhad in 26 August 2005, established a foundation to provide loans in the name of the eighth Shiite Imam, Sandoogh-e Mehr-e Imam Reza, to support young adult employment and marriage.

Thus in the Iranian context, it is reasonable to interpret increasing birth control use after marriage as a response to existing exigencies and new resources and not as reflecting Westernstyle change in the nature of Iranian marriage. We stress two aspects of this Iranian social history [i.e., structural change]. First, its constituent events can be accounted for in retrospect but could not have been well predicted in advance. Thus this history captures both the unpredictability and path dependence of structural change [Sewell 2005; also see Lieberson and Lynn 2002]. Second, understanding the behavior of individuals on the ground requires acknowledgement of these distinctive structures [schema/resources]. Specifically, in the Iranian circumstance, family change

must be interpreted within a framework that accommodates institutional sanctions: how much and what type of family change will be acceptable to the ruling authorities. Individuals can experiment with the boundaries of change and find that in some areas that these boundaries are relatively flexible. Change in these domains will be realized, while in others the boundaries are rigid and innovative behavior is strongly punished, formally and/or The Foundation was to operate in all provinces. However, the initiative has not yet been approved by the Parliament due to fiscal constraints. In contemporary Iran, religious authorities define and interpret the boundaries of acceptable behavior. Change may proceed in some aspects of family life because that change is not viewed as a threat to the idealized family morality. For example, birth control use and smaller family size are acceptable [and after 1990 encouraged,] while "dating", premarital sex and cohabitation are anathema [see Wright 2000].

Specifically, our data allow for a key test involving women's education and aspects of the conjugal "marriage package", i.e., egalitarian views, freedom of movement, etc. Consistent with the conjugal marriage interpretation, it is plausible that education signals exposure to new ideas [schemas] including those supportive of conjugal marriage and egalitarian marital relations. In fact, increased education is associated with egalitarian attitudes in the West [Mason 1976] and, according to recent survey data, in Iran [Kurzman 2005]. Further, education is associated with more liberal attitudes and measures of freedom of movement that are available in the data we use here [items discussed later in this paper]. Thus, education effects could reflect an emerging feminist ideology [i.e., a new schema] supportive of conjugal marriage; these ideas and greater freedom of movement could then be the more proximate cause of birth control use. This explanation predicts that education effects will be sharply attenuated or eliminated once egalitarian attitudes, indicative of new marriage schemas, are included in the multivariate model. One might be skeptical of this explanation for Iran because the resources and institutional support for the conjugal marriage regime seem weak given the power of Islamic religious and political institutions.

Alternatively, in the competing perspective, the more educated may use birth control to sustain early marriage or more precisely to marry in accordance with traditional Islamic schema while still postponing parenthood. This direct education effect indicates that the costs of early marriage are reduced if marriage does not imply immediate parenthood. Postponement of parenthood allows the couple and their families more time to establish an economic basis for marriage, including the completion of schooling, obtaining a job, and establishing a residence.

Each of these goals is more demanding and time consuming for higher status, more educated couples. Further, delayed parenthood allows the couple to mature so that they will be more ready to become good parents. Note that none of these arguments imply greater gender equality, lessened gender stratifica-

tion, or a conjugal marriage ideology.

Data for this paper come from the 2002 Iran Fertility Transition Survey [IFTS]. The IFTS re-interviewed 50 per cent of women in four selected provinces [Sistan & Baluchistan, West Azarbaijan, Gilan, and Yazd] who had been interviewed in the 2000 Iran Demographic and Health Survey [IDHS]. Thus, the IFTS sample includes approximately 1000 households in both urban and rural areas in each of the provinces. Several reasons justify the selection of the provinces. First, these provinces have displayed very different fertility levels during the period, 1972–1996. A comparison of fertility levels of all provinces with the national average revealed that Sistan & Baluchistan and West Azarbaijan had higher fertility as compared to the total population, while Gilan and Yazd displayed considerably lower fertility than the national level [Abbasi-Shavazi 2000, Abbasi-Shavazi and McDonald 2005]. Second, socio-economic characteristics such as literacy, employment, and access to electricity and safe water vary markedly across these provinces. Sistan & Baluchistan province [located in the south-eastern part of Iran and sharing borders with Afghanistan and Pakistan] stands out with the lowest level of socio-economic development, while Gilan and Yazd approach the highest levels of socioeconomic development in the country [Abbasi-Shavazi, McDonald & Hosseini-Chavoshi 2003: 3-4]. See Appendix 1 for more discussion of the characteristics of the selected provinces. The IFTS was conducted during April and May 2002, 18 months after the IDHS, and a total of 5190 questionnaires were completed for eligible women aged 15-49. The IFTS questionnaire included around 100 questions on various demographic and socio-economic characteristics as well as attitudes of women regarding childbearing, marriage, women's employment and gender equity within and outside the family.

The interviewers were selected from among Health Officers [behvarz] who have been working in Health Houses [khanah-e Behdasht] for several years. Most of these interviewers had participated in the IDHS data collection, and thus were familiar with the field, and had accurate knowledge of the households and respondents [particularly in rural areas]. The interviewers were trained by the first and third authors at workshops held in each province. Field supervisors from the Iran Ministry of Health were present in the field at the time of data collection to supervise the interviewer teams and to check the accuracy of the data. A thorough analysis of the data has indicated a high quality of data collection and accuracy of the various demographic measures

Result: What we can find and must do is reevaluate our values, promote a global oriented morality, and implement appropriate international laws. In this case, human rights legislation becomes of utmost importance. Yet prior to such legislation is the necessity that everyone receives an education which facilities an understanding for diversity and otherness. All human beings must recognize themselves as inhabitants of one world and act accordingly. Hence, all nations – states, despite their traditions, beliefs, and values, are obligated to give priority

to the common interests of human beings in order to preserve all life on Earth. No one can with certainty forecast the fate of humanity or of our planet. But the degree to which we are able to influence conditions of life on our planet requires each of us to acknowledge global values and our responsibility for acting on such values and preserving them.

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MESTER, UNIV CALIFORNIA, ISSN: 0160-2764, UNITED STATES

Providers perspectives on the role of race in maternal health

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Abstract *Though m. The objective of this project was to build upon the literature on disparities in maternal health. A review of the literature concluded that this field could benefit from interviewing providers about race-related issues. 16 interviews were conducted in a high risk obstetric clinic. Providers were asked about their thoughts on cultural competency, race in the encounter, the cause of the maternal heath disparity as well as potential solutions to it, and the possibility of disparate treatment. After speaking to both doctors and midwives, I concluded that the real issue is lack of access to adequate healthcare as well as lack of community education. However there seems to be a tangible issue of relatability, and I suggest the solution to this could be a different type of cultural competency as well as encouraging providers to become more involved in their patient populations' communities.*

Keywords: *Maternal, perspectives*

Received *14.03.2018*
Accepted *16.06.2018*

DOI *10:116.MES/45-86.101*

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Introduction

Maternal health in the United States is a field characterized by severe disparities. African American women are 2.4 times more likely to experience infant mortality than are non-Hispanic white women (Collins and David 2009). Similarly, African American infants are much more likely to be low birth weight; Collins and David (2009) point to statistics indicating that the rate of low birth weight is 14.0% for blacks as opposed to only 7.3% for whites. In The Starting Gate: Birth Weight and Life Chances (2003), Dalton Conley, Kate Strully, and Neil G. Bennet explore how babies born with low birth weights often suffer from a variety of health and developmental issues that can affect them well into their

adult lives. The disparity in low birth weight leads to the existence of a wide range of inequalities in other health outcomes, and can be seen as a significant contributor to racial health disparities at large.

The known contributors to poor birth outcomes include maternal smoking, maternal weight (obesity), substance abuse, adolescent pregnancy, poor periodontal care, maternal hypertension, maternal vaginal infections, and preeclampsia (US Department of Health and Human Services 2006). Collins and David (2009) remark that the leading cause of infant mortality in African American infants is short gestation (less than 37 weeks), whereas for white infants the main cause of death is congenital malformations. This indicates that preterm delivery is a very serious concern for African American women.

The explanation previously given for African American women's high incidence of poor birth outcomes was poverty; in this country blacks are often of lower socioeconomic status, and thus experience all of the known contributors to low birth weight at higher rates. Poverty, however, has not been enough to explain the disparity; numerous studies point to discrepancies. Collins and David (2009) write: "College-graduated African-American women who receive adequate prenatal care still have more than a twofold greater LBW rate than college-educated white women who receive adequate prenatal care."

Physician Camara Phyllis Jones has brought the discourse of racism into the forefront of Public Health. In her provocative article Levels of Racism: A Theoretic Framework and a Gardner's Tale, she identifies three types of racism experienced by minority es in the United States: institutionalized racism, personally mediated racism, and internalized racism (Jones 2000). Dr. Jones notes "the variable 'race' is not a biological construct that reflects innate differences, but a social construct that precisely captures the impacts of racism" (p. 1212). She warns against the conflation of race with socioeconomic status, and argues that race is still significant because it affects how others perceive an individual. It is how minorities are treated and internalize this maltreatment that manifests as poorer outcomes, both in health and level of success.

The Weathering Hypothesis is a compelling explanation of the maternal health disparity. Arline Geronimus' 1992 study showed that the incidence of low birth weight increased as African American women aged, even when they were in their prime birthing years. The opposite was true for white women. In fact, the study indicated that for African Americans being an adolescent potentially led to better outcomes for the mother, a counterintuitive concept as teenage pregnancies are often riddled with health risks. It was concluded this evidenced "the weathering hypothesis," the idea that African Americans experienced advanced maternal age as compared to their white counterparts. Aging typically lowers one's birthing ability and health in general. Something about being African American produced in black mothers the same effects as aging. This deterioration in health overtime was attributed to continued exposure of socioeconomic disadvantage and to the stress of facing racism (Geronimus 1992).

Subsequent empirical research has supported the weathering hypothesis. A study by James W. Collins and Richard David (2004) compared the experiences of perceived racism between African American women who had given birth to very low birth weight babies to black women who had given birth to babies of healthy weight. They found that women who reported incidences of experiencing racism, especially racism in the workplace, were more likely to have low birth weight infants. Another study by Claudia Holzman et. al (2009), that included 182, 938 subjects from a variety of different cities discovered that African American women, as well as women who smoked and women who lived in "high deprivation" neighborhoods experienced a pre-term delivery tendency that increased in frequency with maternal age. The investigators concluded that this served as evidence for the "weathering" hypothesis, and that these groups perhaps experienced accelerated aging that put them at higher risk for pre-term delivery. This study, however, does not claim to completely disentangle race from SES or wealth of neighborhood, or prove that race alone is fully responsible.

The current sociological discussions on race and racism must be translated into the context of health care. There are two main types of racism: explicit and implicit. Explicit racism exists when racism is institutionalized by law, or it is socially acceptable for people to voice their racist beliefs. In the United States this racism flourished up until the Civil Rights Movement. Scholars agree that the Civil Rights Movement was a pivotal moment when racism in this country immediately switched to the implicit form (Jackson

2008). It was no longer normal to be overtly racist, and obvious segregation de jure was eradicated. Implicit racism, however, meant that whites still viewed blacks as inferior, though this was based on cultural rather than biological attributes (Bonilla-Silva 2006). Eduardo Bonilla-Silva writes "In the eyes of most whites, for instance, evidence of racial disparity in income, wealth, education, and other relevant matters becomes evidence that there is something wrong with minorities themselves" (p. 208). There was not a significant increase of blacks and whites integrating because segregation de facto still persisted. Implicit racism is also called "color-blind racism" by Bonilla-Silva. The implicit racist includes the person who explains away racial social inequality with meritocracy, the person who thinks that minorities are inferior but keeps these views to his or herself, and even the person who consciously believes that blacks and whites are completely equal, but subconsciously adheres to negative stereotypes.

Disparate treatment is a possibility that has not been fully investigated in maternal health. It is undeniable that there are racial disparities in healthcare. The 2003 book Unequal Treatment defines "disparities in healthcare" as "racial or ethnic differences in the quality of healthcare that are not due to access-related factors or clinical needs, preferences, and appropriateness of intervention" (Smedley et al. 2003:

4). Although inequalities in health care due to differences of social class or income level (which often result in differences in health insurance and thus access) exist, this is not the focus of this paper. When two patients present with the same symptoms, one white and one a minority, even equal SES, evidence suggests they will not receive the same medical treatment. Similar data shows that the disparities are not due to the fact that certain ethnic groups are more likely to suffer from particular illnesses; the inequality is due to treatment received (Smedley et al. 2003).

The manner in which health care treatment is delivered is important. A paper by Carol Ashton and associates explores the importance of a positive clinical encounter in administering quality healthcare (Ashton et al. 2003). They point to studies showing that even when controlling for access to care, socioeconomic status, and severity of disease, blacks and Latinos do not receive aggressive medical treatments (requiring a doctor's order) as often as their white counterparts. They explore three potential causes: bias on the part of the provider, preference on the part of the minority patient, and poor communication between patients and providers of different ethnicities. Although provider bias may play some role, the authors do not believe that it is enough to explain the large disparity in treatment observed. Similarly they argue that the emphasis on patient culpability--the idea that patients are less likely to be compliant if the doctor is of a different race--is erroneous. They point to studies from the

1990's which showed taped medical interactions where informed decision making did not occur. Usually the minority patient did not actively choose the lesser treatment, but a detailed conversation considering the pros and cons of all options did not take place. Thus they conclude the culprit in disparate treatment is poor communication between provider and patient. They build upon the work of Arthur Kleinman, who proposed explanatory models in sickness. Interactions are successful when doctors and patients see eye to eye about the nature of the illness: the explanatory model is an account of what is happening. Kleinman pointed out doctors treat diseases, whereas patients suffer from symptoms which affect their daily lives1. Provider and patient may not agree on what is most significant about the ailment. Communication is best when explanatory models match--when patients are of vastly different backgrounds from their providers explanatory models will likely be very different. Ashton et al write "explanatory models are products of national culture, racial and ethnic culture, gender culture, occupational and professional culture, education and knowledge, social class, religious beliefs, and personality traits" (p. 147). Any sort of social difference can contribute to the doctor and patient approaching the medical issue in a different way. This is not an insurmountable difficulty, but it means that effective communication between the patient and the provider is especially important in these situations. Ashton et al suggest that patients can be proactive by: "providing a health narrative (which reveals the patient's explanatory model), asking questions, expressing concerns, and being assertive"

(p. 150). It is also indicated that clinicians must be adept communicators and that there should be workshops available to them to hone their interpersonal skills. They point to a study by Kaplan and Greenfield that demonstrated effective communication between provider and patient is directly correlated to better outcomes for some chronic illnesses2. Race and ethnicity could play a role in how comfortable a patient feels in a given interaction. A paper by S. Willems and associates corroborated these findings, focusing rather on differing socioeconomic status as an issue between provider and patient. They similarly emphasized empowering patients by educating them how to be proactive in their encounters (Willems et al. 2005). In these models, it may not be exactly correct to say that racism is directly to blame. Any sort of cultural difference could serve as a factor making effective communication more difficult.

This project aimed to shift the focus back onto the health care provider, and to further investigate what clinicians can do to prevent poor birth outcomes. The authors of Unequal Treatment concisely state "it is clear that the health care provider, rather than the patient, is the more powerful actor in clinical encounters. Providers' expectations, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors are therefore likely to be a more important target for intervention efforts" (Smedley et al. 2003: 12). While the discourse on the need to empower disadvantaged individuals to be proactive in their clinical encounters is important, physicians should similarly be working to bridge the gap and accommodate for difficulties that their patients face.

There is, obviously, quite a great deal of literature about the role of race in maternal health disparities as well as the significance of social difference in the clinical encounter. An aspect that is lacking is practitioners' thoughts regarding all of these possibilities. I chose to interview providers to gauge their thoughts on the issues, hoping this would reveal more effective interventions for the maternal health disparity. It would also uncover how providers navigate the complicated notions of race and racism in the social space of the clinical interaction.

Methodology

I interviewed providers at a high risk obstetric clinic in New England. There were a total of 16 in person interviews, conducted over the course of three weeks. Interviews typically lasted between 10 and 20 minutes, though one provider was so engaged in the topic that she spoke with me for nearly 40 minutes. Interviews were tape recorded. The questionnaire (see appendix) was created before conducting interviews, although the exact questions evolved slightly as I learned what types of things yielded more fruitful responses. Some questions were added to ask respondents to elaborate their points whereas other questions were naturally cut depending on the flow of the interview. The list of questions was circulated before and during my interviews, so some clinicians saw them before the interviews, whereas others did not. The interview

had four basic sections: background information about the individual, the clinical encounter in general, the role of race in the clinical encounter, and a discussion regarding disparities seen in maternal health. Audio-recorded interviews were manually transcribed and then analyzed.

Background:

I interviewed attending physicians, resident physicians, and nurse midwives. The breakdown of the participants is as follows: by provider type: 4 attendings, 8 residents, 4 nurse midwives; by gender: 12 women, 4 men; by race:

9 Caucasians, 4 Asians, 2 African Americans, and 1 Latino. The providers were perhaps least diverse in where they grew up: 9 came from the Northeast, 4 hailed from other parts of the United States, and 3 were not born in the United States. Race in the Clinical Encounter:

The questions regarding race in the clinical encounter yielded very similar responses by race. Almost every white provider indicated that they did not feel that race played any role in their interactions with patients. A fairly typical response to the question asking if race played a role in the encounter was epitomized by an attending. She said "You know I really don't think that it does. I think that as a provider you have to be acutely aware of different people's cultures, and how they approach, especially the female anatomy, I think we are definitely in a sensitive area being in OB/GYNs, but I don't think race itself really plays a huge factor." This was seconded by the Asian providers, although 3 of the 4 made exceptions when the patient was their same race. Many providers seemed put off that I was considering race as a potential issue at all. Their responses are perhaps evidence of the disconnect between academia and real life. Doctors are supposed to be "color-blind," and give all of their patients the same excellent treatment.

The interviewees' responses were reflective of this intention.

It became clear, however, that some types of social difference do play a role in the clinical interaction. Providers seemed much more willing to talk about culture rather than race as being a factor in their interactions. For example 8 clinicians made reference to sensitivity and respect of the cultural norms of their Muslim patients, and working around the wish to not be seen by male providers. There were also times when certain immigrant populations had norms different from those practiced in this country, which providers needed to contend with.

More than religious and national differences emerged as being significant, however. Many physicians stated that the greatest difference was "culture," and by this they meant socioeconomic status and sometimes education level. Culture could also refer to a very different world view. One Caucasian provider vacillated back and forth when I asked him if race had played a role in his interactions.

Physician: I'm sure that it has played a role in my interactions with the patients…I'm not so much so sure about race as it is culture… I don't think it's race, because there are people who are of my own race who I have had terrific difficulty connecting with, because their cultural perspective on things is so different. I've had people of different races whom I've connected with perfectly well, because their cultural perspective is much more similar. So… my experience has not been that race has been a barrier for me with a patient…I think it's much more about, if our cultural perspectives are so different, it's more about that than it is the skin color.

Interviewer: Right, and by cultural perspective, what type of things..? Physician: I believe that, for example, everyone has the ability to be healthy, and that much of that is based on personal choices about how one lives one's life. So that goes to diet and exercise and drug use and alcohol, and contraception, and adherence to, compliance with medications and treatment regimens and etc. So there are people who feel that they have no option, no choices. That it's not their fault, and that there is nothing they can do…so when I have those sorts of interactions, I can't really change that cultural perspective.

There is much to disentangle in this interview. In my question about the role of race in the encounter, I did not use the word "barrier," however this physician assumed that I thought race might be a challenge in the interaction. I think that other providers similarly assumed by asking the race question that I was presupposing race was a problem. This might have made them answer the question in a more defensive way. Another interesting aspect about this segment is that the provider seems to not be sympathetic or understanding of why patients might have a disempowered outlook on their health. One might hope that a compassionate provider would try and encourage a patient that healthy behavior was an achievable goal. This physician instead said that this different worldview was an insurmountable challenge at times—some of his patients and he would never see eye to eye.

It was difficult for the providers to articulate what exactly contributed to these different cultural perspectives. One provider who stated that race played no sort of role in the interaction ambiguously tried to describe the type of differences that did cause issue in communication. She stated "But I don't think, I don't think race in itself is a barrier in my practice experiences. I feel that there's a lot of issues that come up that can cause difficult interactions, but most of it is, a lot of it is social or the patient's background, not necessarily the ethnic and racial background." When I pressed her for details she was unable to elaborate.

Interviewer: Right, so like social, like? Provider: social, like…

Interviewer: education and class stuff ? Provider: Mhm, yeah, that.

There was a pause, and her facial expression indicated she was done discussing this topic. Comments like these strongly suggest that providers do feel

some sort of cultural tension in the interaction, however providers refused to attribute this disconnection as being in any way related to race. It is quite likely that providers who are upper or upper middle class have difficulty fully connecting with patients who are of lower SES and education level. It was interesting that there were some types of social difference that could be blamed, but race was not one of them. This may be further evidence of Bonilla-Silva's point that it is no longer socially acceptable to be racist anymore, and so people will speak in ways to indicate that they are not prejudiced. Phenomena such as class or education level will be used as ways to discuss difference in a socially appropriate way, but may in some instances be pseudonyms for race. This is not to say that the physicians are necessarily implicit racists; more it is an interesting observation that they are unwilling to openly refer to race as a point of contention in their interactions.

There were, however, 2 white providers that did directly address race as an issue. Their discussion was hesitant, and they made it clear they did not fully understand what issues were at play, but they at least acknowledge that there was some sort of tension aside from differing socioeconomic status. One resident noted:

I've said pretty often that I can't really relate to some of the things that my patients go through. I think that being a 30 year old physician who's never been pregnant and caring for patients who are 19 and on their third pregnancy….like based on that factor alone there is a lot of difference. There is probably a racial dimension to that.

One of the nurses reflected to me kind of an interesting story once where she was already over 40 at a time that she was caring for… a pregnant black woman in labor, and that pregnant woman asked the nurse if she were pregnant, and the nurse was like "no [laughs], I'm well past my child bearing." And the patient's response was "well, I know you people have your babies late." So I was a little bit surprised by that, because clearly that sense that they can't relate to me and I can't relate to them goes both ways. And it's not just based on a race card, I mean it's also based on kind of an expectation of what's a norm in a community. And what's a norm based on socioeconomic status, and what's a norm you know in a particular city.

I found this to be a most insightful and honest observation. I appreciated this resident's willingness to address the issue of relatability. She discusses the questions of intersectionality in the complex way they deserve. Race, class, culture, and geographic location interact in unpredictable ways to create communities with vastly different lifestyles and world views. She does not attribute all of the issues of relatability to race, but at least openly admits that it does contribute in some way that she may not be able to articulate or fully understand. This physician was disheartened that this disconnect existed and desperately wanted to be able to close the divide. It was also interesting that she was able to recognize the bidirectionality of the relatability issue, understanding her patients' in-

ability to relate to her and thus possibly the recommendations she suggested. This resident noted, however, that race did not have to be a barrier in efficacy of her interactions and that she connected with patients of all backgrounds.

I don't think that my trust level with my patients is race related. I would say I have an equivalent number of really excellent patient interactions and equivalent number of babies named after me in any race category, so for me I don't think that it's played as big a role. But I think that the kind of the socioeconomic status doeskind of play a difference in terms of relatability between us.

This provider is similarly voicing the idea suggested by other providers that race in and of itself is not a problem in an interaction. In no way is her treatment of patients influenced by their skin color. Even when there is this lack of relatability of life experiences she is able to make strong connections with patients. It is a gap that can be bridged. I found her word choice, "the kind of socioeconomic status" noteworthy because it indicated that there is something beyond income level that determines culture; there are racial undertones we may not fully comprehend but at least can admit exist. Race is a factor in the interaction, not a challenge.

The Asian providers similarly indicated that for the most part race played little role in their interactions with patients. A very important exception occurred when the patient was of the same ethnicity. The Asian providers stated that in general, their patients seemed much more at ease when they saw that their practitioner was the same race. There was an interesting difference in the way the providers discussed this phenomenon. Three of the four reflected very neutrally, however one provider indicated, that ultimately this sense of ethnic connection could actually be a hindrance in her communication with patients. She commented:

For me I think for the most part [race] is a nonissue. I think where it does come into play for me is [with] patients who are of the same background as me feel that we relate more and expect me to speak the language. My background is-- I'm a Southeast Asian-- and they expect me to speak Hindi or some of these languages and understand that, their cultural norms. Well I do understand a lot of the cultural norm, I don't speak the language. And that expectation I think can be a barrier. And also not speaking the language fully can be a barrier. So I think in that sense it becomes an issue.

This statement was quite unexpected and further complicates understanding the influence of race and culture in this setting. One would think that being of the same ethnicity would serve only to ease the flow of interactions. Yet this is an account of how social identifiers put in place by society, such as race or ethnic background, can actually force a sense of connection that is not there. This provider's patients are vastly different f rom her, but assume similarity because of the same skin color. When differences do emerge in the interaction it becomes almost more frustrating than had the patients come into the room and seen a provider of a different race. The unfulfilled expectation becomes more

troubling than an initial admittance of difference.

The African American providers, on the other hand, did indicate that they had experienced encounters in which their race had been a factor in the interaction. It seemed overall that they were much more aware of their other visible social markers in general, not just race. For example, before I asked about race in the encounter one African American provider stated "I think that in my experience how patients see me and whatever they assume based on what I look like can be a barrier, anything from my sex to my age to my race to my accent or lack thereof, I think people kind of make assessments about how much they think I know, and they treat me accordingly." This provider was self conscious about her appearance; she was aware that her physical characteristics play a significant role in how she is viewed and how willing people will be to listen to her. She assumed that how she was perceived might be a point of contention that she would have to overcome in a given interaction. Although this study's focus is on race, her references to gender and country of origin are similarly very important influence on the nature of the clinical interaction. This same provider later commented that when things were not going well with a patient she sometimes asked herself if it was her race that was causing the disconnect, as if the patient was less trusting of her because she was black. She stated

So it's hard for me to get a good sense of it when I don't click for a patient, when I feel a patient doesn't trust me for whatever reason or doesn't respect me or whatever else, I kind of click through potential reasons and race is always high on that list of reasons. But, you know, I'm sure, I hope it's not the highest but it's hard to say with the extent to which it's played a role in my patient interactions.

This provider very much indicated that she could not be sure about the role of race, because as she admitted "[race is] rarely ever explicitly addressed." This is important because she is not blaming tension on race, but rather considers it as a contributing factor. This is contrasted to the white physicians who blamed their disconnect (outside of language) solely on "cultural" or socioeconomic differences. Similarly, she expressed she felt she was adept at helping people of all cultures.

One black clinician indicated that there had been times when patients had directly inquired about her race. In the section of the interview asking about the clinical encounter the provider reflected upon one incident in which a patient had at the outset been recalcitrant. She said

So yeah, there are times when people have an attitude…One African American woman who was really hostile and angry, and I was like, you know, my goodness. And she said "Are you Indian?" and I said "No, I'm black." And she goes "oh." And her demeanor changed completely after that and I thought, "where did that come from?"

This reflection was very interesting because the provider chose to acknowledge race before I had begun the part of the interview that specifi-

cally addressed it. This segment is very revealing. Especially when considered with the responses of the Asian providers, it appears that minority patients may be more comfortable when their provider is of the same race. Whether this bias is something the medical system should try and acquiesce to is debatable, however it should at least be considered as something public health needs to contend with. Examples like these make the issue of effective cultural competence training3 all the more salient. Providers must learn how to be sensitive to preconceived notions and biases which their patients have about them.

The same provider quoted above also relayed to me times in which patients had demonstrated that they held racist views, but they allowed her to treat them because she offered compassionate care. Their racism was never directly addressed towards her; in one case a patient told her after treatment that she had a strong mistrust of African Americans, but that this changed after this provider guided her through her tragic miscarriage. In another case the provider learned that the patient was racist because she refused the care of a black male provider, even though the patient had allowed her to treat her throughout the pregnancy. This same provider also shared an example when a white patient asked if she was white. When the provider responded "no," the patient seemed surprised. After relaying this story the provider continued:

It took me a while to sort of piece it together, because, you know Florida is the Deep South. And perhaps in her experience she had not experienced a black person who was actually a health care provider, and so I think that, she was a little bit like 'oh,'…there was not synchrony in terms of her thought, well then maybe you're white.

These comments divulge just as much about the confused patient as they do about the provider. It shows that she is very sensitive to racial relations in this country, and has a keen awareness of how others view and understand her. Although the other African American clinician did not provide detailed anecdotes like these, she similarly evinced this awareness of patients having difficulty processing her race. This story is further evidence that race of the provider, or rather bias on the part of the patient, may be a barrier to effective communication with a patient. Though this provider did not indicate having particular difficulty, the system of institutionalized racism that trickles down to an individual level means that some white patients will have difficulty accepting their minority providers. After relaying this anecdote, the interviewee reflected on the role her race played in the interaction:

It's like the justice system. Supposedly rule of law prevails, but I'm sorry, you know race, because of our society, does play an important part in decisions that are made relative to one's race. And so I know that some people may have preconceived ideas, but usually I think that because I'm not into that stuff, I'm aware of it but, you know, I do what I need to do for everybody regardless. And so overtime I think that people even if they have some negative attitudes about

my race, tend to sort of like me for whatever reason.

The provider emphasized that race cannot ever be ignored as a factor in daily interaction. She feels that although people may choose to try and ignore it, race is a significant identifier and carries with it important meanings and preconceptions for different individuals. Her race had been an issue that her bigoted patients had to overcome. However she voiced the same notion indicated by white providers that all patients demanded the same quality of care. She added that compassionate and excellent care was necessary even when the patient was intolerant or held biased notions. It was through this compassion towards racist individuals that she could actively fight discrimination on an individual level; by her actions, she made these people reconsider their prejudiced worldviews.

Lack of belief in Weathering Hypothesis & lack of awareness of racism in general: Providers who claimed to be culturally competent seemed unaware

of the potential detrimental effects of racism on a patient's health, and in some cases even oblivious to its existence. Of the providers whom I spoke to, only three voiced any sort of acknowledgement of the idea that living in a racist society could contribute to African American women suffering worse birth outcomes. Two of these were the African American clinicians. One provider indicated she was very much a proponent of the Weathering Hypothesis. She commented:

I suspect that a lot of our sociology/public health counterpart is doing a much better job trying to identify…the nuances of these discrepancies… I'm confident that there's some degree of institutionalized racism that plays into [the disparity] in ways that we can't articulate.

Unlike the majority of her colleagues this provider encouraged more investigation of how social institutions and discrimination influenced health outcomes. She was frustrated by the persistence of the racial disparity in birth outcomes even for women of high SES, and indicated that it would indeed be the experience of racism rather than another factor such as genetics that would contribute to this. Another provider offered keen insight regarding why black women at higher income levels still experienced higher rates of poor birth outcomes. She said:

Because of the stress you know, racism does not go away as you move up the socioeconomic ladder. In fact your exposure to the majority culture is probably more increased….probably because you are faced with that majority culture on a on a daily basis you're likely to experience that stress daily in your life, [in your] work and personal life. That stress part of it is really important.

A third provider did admit that the experience of racism could potentially play a role in explaining the adverse outcomes seen in African Americans. However he offered a very compelling critique of the Weathering Hypothesis. If discrimination causes stress and thus poor health outcomes, one would expect to see similar results in other minority groups. He referred to the Latino population which experiences a tremendous amount of discrimination. This group did not have the same rates of poor birth outcomes among their higher SES individuals, and thus supporters of ideas like Weathering Hypothesis needed to find a way to explain this discrepancy.

A few times when I asked providers to explain why African American women at higher SES experienced bad birth outcomes at higher rates they often indicated that genetics must be to blame. One resident commented "well I think that some of this may go to the genetic part of it. If everything else is the same, you know you control for socioeconomic status, for smoking/non smoking for all the other factors that we kind of talk about and then the differences are still there, then you have to start thinking scientifically like what's different..." What is interesting about his viewpoint regarding the potential for a genetic explanation is the cognitive jump he makes from known risk factors to genetics. The differential social experience of blacks was not something that crossed his mind as something being relevant; he believed the answer must be scientific. Two other providers spoke similarly; if class and health habits are explained away, the only other explanation had to be difference at the genetic level.

There was another instance in which I asked a provider about what causes bad birth outcomes in general, and he began by addressing the racial disparity. However he wanted to discredit the fact that negative outcomes were experienced differentially across races. He emphasized that causation can only be deduced by using a randomized control trial, which he felt could not be done with race.

I'm personally hesitant to say that somebody's race, just race in and of itself puts them at higher risk of something, because I believe it probably is a series of confounding factors that tend to be associated with race--lower incomes, less education, poorer nutrition, more obesity--things like this that are associated that are harder to tease out all of the possible confounders that end up influencing outcomes.

On one hand it seems that this resident present a subtle argument against the genetic explanations for the disparity. He suggests the need for caution in overestimating the role of race, and it appears that by "race" he is referring to only skin color. It is interesting, though not surprising, that in his list of challenges associated with race he does not include experience of discrimination. This idea of not being able to "tease out" all of the factors was mentioned by three other providers. At the end of her interview, one attending felt the need to inform me

I just think that race being the only factor is very difficult to point at as be-

ing the issue in healthcare disparities. And I think that it encompasses a lot of things, and if you look at a lot of communities where there are predominantly poor whites, I think the outcomes will still be bad… so I do think that race is not the ideal marker in looking at. It's a marker that we always look at, but I think that there's so much that's compounded in that.

This provider, as did many others, felt that I was missing the point by only looking at race. It was almost a call for the appreciation of intersectionality, to look at how all of these disadvantages combined in unexpected ways, as if investigating race ignored the greater problem of poverty and access to care which affects citizens of all ethnicities in this country. My choice to utilize race as a locus of inquiry diverted attention from the real issue of socioeconomic disparities.

Some doctors seemed completely unable to disentangle the issues of race and poverty. One resident, when asked what she thought was the cause of the racial disparity, she responded poverty was to blame. When I pressed her, asking why even black women of high SES still experienced these negative outcomes at higher rates, she responded

I don't know that it's just race. I really do think it's a combination of everything. It's a combination of the social status…and everything else. And it's just sad because if you if you really look at it in the broader picture really patients who have problems with the pregnancies are the ones who are in the lower class, you know, and what's associated with being poor.

This respondent completely ignored my effort to pick apart the race and class issue. I could not tell whether she didn't understand me, or if she was completely conflating race with class. It seemed that she was implying most African Americans are at lower SES and thus this question was irrelevant. Because of this, I did not directly ask her about the potential role of racism affecting one's health. This same resident spoke after the tape recorder was off, and when I explained to her my interest in the Weathering Hypothesis she was visibly angered, and would not consider that racism could be a significant contributor to bad health outcomes. She emphatically stated "but there is so much else!" and elaborated that nutrition and lifestyle, e.g. what type of job and the hours one worked, clearly had a more noteworthy effect on outcomes. This reaction was surprising, because earlier in the interview she seemed very able to articulate the subtle problems with poverty, but was unwilling to even consider the possibility of the role of race.

Some other clinicians were openly skeptical at the idea that the experience of racism could be a contributor to poor birth outcomes. When I asked about the potential of the Weathering Hypothesis, one resident admitted that she could not explain for why African American women of high SES still experienced bad birth outcomes at higher rates. This was not the population that she treated at this clinic and so she had no experiential basis to speak from. She added "I have no idea, because you'd assume that other things are taken out of the pic-

ture for them, right?" thus acknowledging that it was at least noteworthy that this occurred. However she continued "But do I think race is involved? I don't think so. And especially now people are all of mixed races and it's just so hard to like even, I don't know, pinpoint, like you know…if you wanted to be racist it'd really be kind of difficult. [laughs] you know?" This statement is puzzling. It is unclear here if the resident is implying that it is difficult to distinguish "pure" races because of the trend of interraciality, or if she is denying the existence of racism as being a relevant phenomenon. She referred to different identifiable races at other times during the interview, so it seems unlikely that she meant to say that every individual is mixed. It is certainly no longer socially acceptable to be explicitly racist, and perhaps this is what she meant by the term "difficult." However the fact that she suggests that someone might "want to be racist" but there would be substantial challenges or barriers to acting on this shows a lack of awareness of race relations in this country. Her comment is ambiguous, and so understanding of its significance is difficult. At the very least, the resident is denying the possibility of the Weathering Hypothesis; at worst she is denying the existence of racial discrimination in the modern era. When I told one of the African American providers that she was one of the few respondents that had voiced any credence in the Weathering Hypothesis she was not surprised. She responded:

Well you know sometimes people don't fully appreciate the constant or pervasive sort of racism that exists in our society... they haven't been exposed on a daily or weekly basis to comments and just things that are sort of inappropriate that are really sort of racist…until you walk in someone's shoe I don't think you fully appreciate what they encounter, and so a lot of whites don't realize the level of discrimination that happens and so they're not tuned into the fact... My god, it's like when he went through the Black Like Me experience, there were times when he had to just pull back because it was overwhelming, you know."

Thinking of her personal experiences as an African American, she supported the idea that living in a society with institutionalized racism was stressful. She suggested that teaching awareness of the struggle many minorities experience could perhaps help, but emphasized that experiencing the detrimental effects of oppression was a phenomenon that whites in general would ever truly comprehend. She suggested the focus instead should be on teaching minorities how to deal with the stress they endure in their lives in a productive, healthy way.

Evidence of Racism?:

The discussion of race is a very sensitive subject. Most providers were visibly uncomfortable when discussing these topics, and I was grateful for their willingness to talk to me. However, it was impossible to overlook that some

comments seemed to make negative assumptions about African Americans. For example, when I explained the Weathering Hypothesis to one attending, asking if she thought that the stress associated with living in a society characterized by institutionalized racism could lead to the bad birth outcomes seen in African Americans. She responded "I don't know about that. Just cause you've led a stressed out life doesn't mean that your uterus is more stressed out, but you know if you're using cocaine everyday, then obviously that's a more stressed out uterus5. But I don't think that's a [very brief pause] race thing that's just an individual thing." This comment struck me because she immediately denied racism experienced by African Americans contributing to bad outcomes and instead chose to mention drug use. Never did this doctor say directly African Americans are more likely to use drugs, in fact she followed up by saying drug use was not a "race thing." However I believe that given the question which was asking specifically about African Americans, a subtle and problematic association had been made. She then continued that living in an urban environment with a limited income was indeed stressful and could have health repercussions that were not the fault of the individual. Similarly she was sympathetic to the fact that relying on public transportation could make one late for appointments. Thus she was able to comprehend the subtleties of the difficulties of living in poverty. However this almost felt like an apology for the hasty association that was made.

This comment regarding drug use was very subtle, and whether there were racial implications I admit is debatable. Another attending openly and directly addressed race as a contributing factor to the disparity in a way that I was not expecting. I asked this doctor to explain what caused bad birth outcomes in general, to not yet delve into why certain groups experienced them at higher rates. She chose however to immediately launch into an explanation of why African Americans in particular experience such unfortunate outcomes.

Well I think that culture plays a huge role. I think there's acceptance in certain cultures, such as the African American right now, where it's perpetuated. I've seen mothers come in with African American daughters and they're actually happy that this 14 year old is pregnant. For whatever reason, it's perpetuated, whether it's for money, whether it's an accomplished person, I don't know, I'm not really familiar with what really drives that, but it's the same. And in other cultures as well, it seems to be more accepted and actually rewarded. It's amazing to me because how I grew up and in my culture that was not at all, you know, something.

I was very confused by this response, and when I again tried to shift the conversation away from race and back to maternal health outcomes in general she continued:

Well I think it's along the same lines…For instance I've been asked this a lot, and again I've been asked to look specifically at the African American, that's why I keep targeting it, not because. But you know for instance I think they say "look, my sister, my cousin, they didn't get prenatal care, and they did fine" And we know that Hispanics and especially African Americans have higher pre term labor and pre term delivery but yet they're the ones that come in the latest for prenatal care. And I think it's just not a priority to them, I think it's perpetuated through the generations...They don't see the risk, I don't think it's ingrained in them, and it's just their culture.

There is a lot to be dissected in this response. Without prompting, this interviewee chose to directly address race, which she instead refers to as "culture," as a contributing factor to negative birth outcomes. A startling aspect of her response was the emphasis on placing the responsibility for the disparity on African Americans. Her word choice did not indicate that a lack of education or poverty played a major role—she openly stated "African American culture" was responsible; there was no sort of qualification. The respondent refers to African Americans in general; not "some African Americans", or "African Americans who have not attained as much education." I was similarly surprised by the repeated use of the word "they." Especially when discussing her own culture, there seemed to be an idea undercurrent of the idea "us and them." Approximately three minutes later this same provider stated that she thought race played no role whatsoever in the clinical interaction. She only mentioned the need to be sensitive to cultural differences, such as awareness of many Muslim women's desires to not be seen by a male physician. During this response, the provider's tone seemed fairly unsympathetic. This went beyond the typical literature on noncompliance. She indicated that African Americans simply did not care about prenatal care, and it was because of this apathy that they saw such poor outcomes.

These two sections are examples of unsettling associations made by providers. Although both of these providers indicated that race played little to no role in their clinical interactions, it is difficult to imagine how race is not a factor when they hold these judgments. It is also very interesting that these things were said given the nature of this study. The providers had access to a sort of abstract as well as a list of questions before interviews. One would expect that comments like these would have been screened against,

because the interviewees would have ample time to think about what types of things were socially acceptable to say. Thus their responses are especially startling. There is no shame or embarrassment about having these beliefs. It would be interesting to investigate if people are capable to carry beliefs such as those above and still interact with all of their patients in the same unbiased manner. It is possible that people are able to compartmentalize their personal thoughts separately, and not think about such things on a one on one encounter.

It is difficult, however, to imagine that this is likely.

Conclusions

A note on methodology:

This project was defined by what I was permitted to do, rather than by what I originally wanted to investigate. I was interested in disparate treatment. Initially, I hoped to combine clinical observations with clinician and patient interviews. I wanted to see if there was a difference in clinician's behavior with different patients, or if patients of different races had noticeably different evaluations. Both the obstetric visit observations as well as the patient interviews, however, were not permitted.

There were several limitations to this study. I was the only investigator who interviewed 16 clinicians at a single clinic with a very distinct patient population. Timing of the interviews necessarily accommodated the providers' busy schedules, and often ended prematurely. It is likely that another clinical site would have yielded different results. The observations reported here may not be applicable beyond this site, and thus cannot be seen as general trends for obstetrical care.

Reconsideration of Findings:

The intention of this project was to gather input or data from interviews that would identify specific medical or social programs that could effectively target the racial disparity in maternal health outcomes. Unfortunately, this did not happen. The healthcare providers were as unable to explain the disparate phenomena as social scientists. While the clinicians were able to offer some solutions—preconceptional health care and education—it became clear that the racial disparity specifically is not something that they are directly focused on. Most were visibly saddened and concerned that people at lower SES experience increased rates of bad birth outcomes, but many did not conceptualize this problem as a racial one.

An important insight of this study in this study was its ability to uncover how physicians themselves deal with and conceptualize race and cultural difference. It became clear that the understanding of race in the maternal health field is just as complicated and blurred as it is in other institutions in this country. In terms of providing patient care, these clinicians for the most part were unwilling to refer directly to race as an issue in the interaction. However they did refer to SES, amount of educational attainment, as well cultural mindset as factors that can make the encounter more difficult. Although race in this country is often associated with all of these features, few practitioners were willing to voice that it was a dimension of the encounter. Why is it that class or culture are acceptable social differences to blame, but race is not? Frequently during interviews I sensed my questions were perceived as being narrow-minded for

suggesting that race could play any role in the delivery of care. The comparison of the experience of providers of different races, however, revealed that race can be a salient factor in the encounter. It is not always predictable how it will play out—for example, interviews with Asian providers indicated that sharing race with a patient was not always something that made communication easier—but it does affect the quality of the interaction. These interviews subtly hinted at other questions. What is race? Is it merely skin color? Is it a something with genetic implications? Is it a representation of a culture? Is it merely a social construct that affects the way one is perceived by others? Although most of the providers wanted to imply it was a matter of melanin, there were undercurrents in their responses suggesting a social significance they were unwilling to openly acknowledge.

The general lack of belief about the impact that the experience of racism could have on health outcomes was somewhat troubling. Perhaps it was unfair to ask clinicians who serve a lower income population to speculate the reasons why black women at higher socioeconomic status suffer from similarly bad outcomes. Racism, however, is something that minorities at all income levels encounter during their life experiences, and the fact that many providers were unwilling to admit this was problematic. There are many compelling studies providing evidence supporting the deleterious effects of discrimination, and providers had either not heard of them or were unwilling to believe the evidence. There should be more investigation as to why this disbelief in the experience of racism is so pervasive. Interviewees who were able to clearly articulate the woes of poverty would, minutes later in the interview, deny that racism could have any significance. At the very least, denying that racism could play a role shows that some providers are out of touch with the life experiences of their patients. Similarly the undercurrents of bigotry in some responses were undeniable. There are clear issues with the way some of these clinicians conceptualize their patients, and this could very well affect the medical care they provide.

A real issue that did emerge from these interviews is the issue of relatability. Many providers blamed relatability on socioeconomic status or culture, whereas a few admitted that racial dimensions were in play. Ultimately it may not matter if the relatability problem is more connected to class or to culture or to race. The fact is that providers divulged that they have more difficulty connecting with patients whose backgrounds differed vastly from theirs. Other studies have shown that disconnection means that there is poorer communication which can lead to lesser quality treatment. Disparate treatment based on socioeconomic status is just as unacceptable as unequal treatment based on race. Providers must be able to employ effective tools that help bridge the divide between their life experience and that of their patients. As stated in Unequal Treatment, in the clinical setting the healthcare provider is the one in the position of power because they have valuable health knowledge to pass onto the

vulnerable patient. Thus the provider must be the one who makes the effort to ensure that the patient receives the best care possible. Although patients should be advised about how to be more proactive, it is as important to teach providers how to be more compassionate and open-minded. Ideally better cultural competence training would ameliorate this problem.

Another suggestion is for providers to become more involved in the communities which they serve, even if these populations are of vastly different backgrounds. This might increase trust of both the providers and their services. It is difficult to brainstorm tangible ways that this could be accomplished. One provider suggested simple things like going to the same grocery store as one's patients. Another option could be connecting to the community through health education. The clinicians believed that health education would be more effective when taught by community leaders. However it is possible that community-provider relationships would improve with actual clinicians leading workshops at neighborhood centers, demonstrated that they are invested in the well being of their patients daily. This might dispel the suspicion claim that clinicians only care if they are going to be paid.

Closing Thoughts

This project speaks to much larger issues, such as questioning the significance of race in modern society. As reiterated several times in this paper, providers were often confused by my focus on race. They felt that this was only one factor about a person, and it had little significance in their social interactions with patients. It begs the question of whether we as social scientists are contributing to racial tensions by continuing to study difference. If the eventual objective is for racial tolerance and full integration, what purpose does continuing to investigate the implications of difference serve? Are we inflating the importance of race as a category by continuing to study it? This project indicated that there are certainly issues of race during the clinical encounter, even if the providers were unwilling to admit to them. Furthermore, racism is still a very real phenomenon with numerous effects. The issue is that people in this country want to believe that race is a non issue. I am not sure what the solution is, other than continued education about the need for awareness of racial injustices. More research on how individuals conceptualize race in their daily lives is needed. We cannot hope to eradicate oppression if we do not understand how individuals make sense of race.

Acknowledgements

I am greatly indebted to heads of the clinic who allowed me to conduct my study. Furthermore I would like to thank all of the providers who generously and enthusiastically gave up their time to speak with me. This project would not

have been possible without their support.

Lastly I would like to thank my advisor Hannah Brueckner who remained patient with and supportive of my project, and whose advice was invaluable in framing it in a coherent way.

Appendix

Questionnaire: (sheet that was circulated at clinic before and during the time interviews were conducted)

These interviews would be open-ended, meaning not every single question on this outline would necessarily be asked. I would like to have a conversation with providers that flows naturally depending on their own interests and insights in the subject matter.

1. Background questions:

-Where did you grow up?

Why did you become a doctor/nurse midwife, and why did you choose OB/GYN?

-Where were you trained?

2. How would you characterize the ideal clinical encounter? In contrast, what is not ideal? What tends to happen in encounters that aren't as effective?

3. What are barriers you face in communicating with your patients? How do you deal with them?

4. What was your cultural competency training like? Was it relevant for the

clinical interactions you have had? Was it sufficient?

5. What role do you think race, either yours or your patient's, has played in clinical encounters? Has different ethnicity ever been a barrier in communication? Have you ever had issues with cross- cultural medical encounters?

Certain groups of society experience higher rates of infant mortality and low birth weight.

6. In general, what leads to negative birth outcomes? Are there specific interventions that can be done to prevent them?

7. According to the New Haven Health Department (2004 data) African American women are 2.5 times more likely to experience infant mortality. Why do think this is? (access to adequate pre-natal care, insurance issues, greater social problems? etc.)

8. The majority of the social science literature on the topic seems to argue that the disparity seen across different ethnicities is not solely a class issue, but a racial one. For example, many African American women at high SES still experience bad outcomes at higher rates. What are your thoughts on this?

9. Do you think that the insights on disparate treatment found in cardiovascular health could play a role in prenatal health?

10. Ideally, what could be done to erase the disparity seen in negative ma-

ternal birth outcomes?

11. Do you think there are measures health care providers or the publichealth sector can take to alleviate this disparity?

12. What do you see as being a very pressing issue in maternal health? What would you like to see more research done on?

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MESTER, UNIV CALIFORNIA, ISSN: 0160-2764, UNITED STATES

Surviving the forest: ethnography of new havens tent city

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Abstract *According to the National Coalition for the Homeless, 3.5 million Americans experience homelessness in any given year. Because it is notoriously difficult to count homeless individuals, this number is a gross estimation, but one conclusion should be clear: homelessness remains a persistent reality in the United States. Thus, is comes as no surprise that the phenomenon is well documented in sociological literature. Eliot Liebow's* Tell Them Who I Am *and Anderson and Snow's* Down on Their Luck *are two particularly striking examples. However, the majority of this literature focuses on homeless individuals that reside in shelters. While such individuals constitute the majority of America's homeless, there is also a considerable, though largely unknown, population of people living independently in squatter communities.*

Keywords: *Majority*, *shelters*, *Surviving*

Received *14.01.2018*
Accepted *16.04.2018*
DOI *10:116.MES/45-86.101*
Author: *Yale University*

Introduction

A recent MSNBC article ("In Hard Times, Tent Cities Rise Across the Country") declares: "From Seattle to Athens, GA, homeless advocacy groups and city agencies are reporting the most visible rise in homeless encampments in a generation." Though these communities are gaining recognition in the media, they have been the subject of strikingly little sociological literature. While every community is undoubtedly unique, I hope that this ethnography will shed some light on the condition of life within such encampments.

Tent City was a loose community of formerly homeless individuals that took up residence in one of New Haven's parks. They were a unique group of people who, for various reasons, were unable to maintain a more conventional lifestyle. Faced with the prospect of long-term homelessness, they set up tents in this forest and withdrew from the lifestyle of mainstream society. In this paper,

I investigate the forces that led them to Tent City, how they survived in the forest, and factors that prevented them from leaving. Though all Tent City residents were evicted in August 2010, I have opted to keep this paper in the present tense in order to portray more accurately life within this community.

Locations

Tent City is a secluded community located in a state park on the outskirts of New Haven. Although relatively small, the park is large enough to be truly cut off from the urban environment. It is heavily forested, and boasts a beautiful network of streams, a river, turkeys, and countless birds, squirrels, and other woodland creatures that only Ma (see below) could accurately identify. It also harbors a network of campsites that between 15-50 people call home 2. The name "Tent City" is somewhat of a misnomer—Tent Suburbs would be more accurate. Instead of one central location, there are at least 7 different campsites, ranging from one to five tents each.

Subjects

The majority of my time was spent at one campsite. Headed by Ro, it also consisted of Ma, Wanda, Ty, Jo, Elaine, and a few other guests that occasionally spent the night. I also had a few in-depth conversations at Celia's campsite, located across the river. The individuals at the other campsites were always friendly with me, but they were somewhat distrustful of my project and did not wish to form a major part of it. I have done my best to respect their privacy and never quote them in this paper. Therefore, while the total Tent City population hovered around 20 during this study, I only formed a trusting relationship with ten individuals.

The residents of Tent City are all middle-aged--- that is, between

30 and 60 years old. They have been living there for varying lengths of time, ranging from a few months to over three years (see table 1). Some individuals, such as Ro, Celia, Beth, and L.A. have spent years sleeping in their respective tents. Others tend to come and go from Tent City, occasionally spending nights at the nearby C Shelter and other locations. They are ethnically diverse—of the ten people I got to know, 6 are considered to be White, 3 are Black, and 1 is Hispanic. Many live as couples in romantic relationships sharing the same tent. For all of these individuals, Tent City constitutes the closest semblance of a home.

Methodology

Due to the highly sensitive nature of this project, I deemed ethnography

to be the most appropriate method of investigation. In collecting data, I have relied almost exclusively on the method of "naturalistic fieldwork" (Anderson and Allard 2005) as taught by Robert Park, Howard Becker, David Matza, and Elijah Anderson.

This methodology stresses the importance of developing a close relationship with one's subjects so that the researcher/subject relationship can be transcended. While this type of ethnography may be criticized for its inherent subjectivity, its primary advantage lies in its ability to access detailed, accurate information that would be impossible to obtain through surveys or interviews. For example, the question "Why do you live in Tent City?" may be

difficult to answer in a survey.

Table 1: People of Tent City

Individual	Length of Stay in Tent
Elaine	3 months, intermittently
Jo	3 months
Annie	4 months
Ty	7 months, intermittently
Ma	7 months
Randa	2 years, intermittently
Ro	2 years
L.A.	3 years
Beth	3.5 years
Celia	3.5 years

Trust is a key element of any ethnography, both between subjects and researcher and between the ethnographer and reader. In order to build a relationship with my subjects, I spent many hours with them in the forest, sitting over a fire, gathering wood, and occasionally performing other minor chores at the campsites. I did not use a tape recorder and I rarely took notes at the actual research site, preferring instead to type

them up as soon as I returned home. Over the course of this project, I developed friendships with people in Tent City, and they were generally very willing to answer my many questions. In order to protect their identities, I have used pseudonyms throughout this paper.

Why Not the Shelters?

For the vast majority of New Haven's homeless that cannot afford an apartment and have not yet been admitted to a transitional housing program, the best recourse is the Emergency Shelters that admit anyone on a nightly basis. They vary in quality, but all offer a shower, at least one meal, and a place to sleep (though not necessarily a bed). This is an attractive option for most unsheltered homeless, but for a variety of reasons, Tent City residents have opted to forego shelter life.

The two main reasons Tent City residents gave for wanting to avoid overnight shelters were 1) a lack of freedom and 2) an aversion to other guests. In order to gain insight into shelter life and an understanding of these responses, I spent a considerable amount of time in New Haven's three largest emergency shelters.

Lack of Freedom and mobility

A common complaint of the shelters is the many rules that limit one's mobility. As a total institution (Goffman 1961), the shelters closely regulate the actions of their guests. The rules governing B Shelter are shown in Figure 2. Failure to abide by these rules results in Disciplinary Discharge: expulsion from the shelter for a given number of days. The three New Haven shelters vary in strictness, with the C Shelter being the most stringent, and the Overflow Shelter being most lenient. However, they all deny

Figure 2: Rules and Regulations at the B Shelter

Shelter rules and Regulations	10. Guest will not be allowed up front with- out being fully clothed
1. Guest will be searched before admittance	11. Smoke breaks will be every hour on the hour
2. All guests must register and shower every night	12. If you come here intoxicated, you will not be permitted in
3. All guests musts have a private and con- fidential interview with case manager and get an action plan	13. No alcohol, illegal drugs, or weapons allowed
4. Register between 4:00 until 11:00	14. All guests must depart by way of front entrance by 7:45
5. Lights out at 10:00	15. No clothes are to be left on bed, under mattress, or under beds

6. No phone calls permitted or received. (we will not give out any information to anyone inquiring about	16. Smoking permitted in designated areas only
7. Open packs of cigarettes will be searched	17. One bag per person
8. Food brought from the outside will be checked. We cannot store food for	18. If client does not obtain a case manager in 30 days they will be dismissed for 90
9. Food to be eaten only in the food service and dining area	19. If client is not working on action plan with case management, client can be dismissed for 90 days—per

Source: Sign above water fountain in the dining area, as transcribed by author.

readmission to anyone who leaves the shelter after registration3. In effect, this means that if someone enters the shelter at 4:00 PM to guarantee access to a bed, he cannot leave until 7:30 the following morning. This rule, more than any other, was bemoaned by Tent City residents: "What kind of grown man wants to go to a shelter at 4:30?"

In addition, a myriad of other rules can make the shelters seem like a prison. Guests' activities in the shelters are carefully monitored, and their movements must follow a detailed schedule. At the Overflow Shelter,

3 This rule is designed to prevent guests from leaving the shelter to consume drugs or alcohol.

I was admonished multiple times for wearing a hat4. At the B Shelter, men are only allowed in the common room at certain times. At all the shelters, guests can only step outside for a few minutes during designated smoke breaks. There are cumbersome registration processes and strict 'lights out' policies. Accordingly, people at Tent City complain that the shelters make them feel confined. Ro expressed this sentiment most clearly: "When I stay there, I look around and I feel like I'm in a warehouse. They're warehousing me! It's a warehouse for people who don't have homes."

By comparison, life in the forest becomes liberating. All of the people who live in Tent City told me that they prefer the forest because it is more peaceful, and they feel free to act as they choose. Beth says that she loves living next to the water, and Ma enjoys living among the forest animals.

Aversion to Other Guests

Many Tent City residents spoke of an aversion to "drama" caused by other guests. Nearly everyone agreed that many of the guests at the shelters are thieves, drug addicts, and drug dealers. After telling Ma that I was doing research at the B Shelter, she told me: "Ya know, to get that place, you really gotta stay overnight. But it's dangerous—you might get in a fight. There's a lot of street people there." John agreed: "The times I slept there I slept clutching all my stuff with a blanket on top."

Indeed, nearly every man I talked to in the shelter warned me of excessive theft. While eating, one man told me a story of how someone stole his keys: "They can't even use the keys--- why would they steal them?" The man next to him provided another example: "One night, I was sleeping

4 This rule exists because headwear can make it difficult to identify individuals. At the Overflow Shelter, there are cameras on the ceilings that are used to determine who is responsible for thefts and violence. in bed and somebody stole the blanket off me while I was asleep! I woke up shivering!" I received similar advice from other clients-- many sleep wearing their clothes in order to prevent theft during the night. One of the administrators at the shelter explained his interpretation of the cause of this theft: "Nobody in here cares about his fellow man." Despite these constant warnings of theft, I did not encounter any problems during visits to B shelter. This can partially be explained by the fact that I never spent the night---according to the guests, the majority of thefts occur early in the morning when most people are asleep.

While most Tent City residents agreed that the Overflow shelter and C shelter were safer, they still all expressed a deep distrust of the other guests. For most, this distrust was rooted in the perception that theft was rampant, but others criticized the other guests' sexual orientations: "The people… there's too much drama. There's a lotta lesbians and they don't even hide it!" Similarly, Ma once told me about how Ty felt uncomfortable at the shelters because men were engaging in sexual acts in the showers.

Though I only spent a few days in the shelters, I saw no instances of theft or overt sexual activity. While they probably occur, they seem considerably less common than Tent City people expressed. How can we interpret this discrepancy? On the one hand, this condemnation of the other guests may be a form of associational distancing (Snow and Anderson 1993), a method of managing negative stigma:

> Since a claim to a particular self is partly contingent on the imputed social identities of the person's associates, one way people can substantiate that claim when their associates are negatively evaluated is to distance themselves from those associates (p. 215).

Because homeless people are often "negatively evaluated," i.e., stigmatized, they often try to find ways of negating this stigma. One way of doing so is to set oneself apart from the other stigmatized individuals. In this case, Ma, Jo, Elaine, and Ty are distancing themselves from the other homeless people at the shelters, who they claim to be thieves, drug users, and homosexuals. This allows them to counter society's negative assessment of them. It enables them to say "Yes, we are homeless, but we are not like those homeless people."

On the other hand, many Tent City residents simply don't like to be surrounded by many people. Wanda often explained to me that when there are too many people around, she gets anxious and hears voices. Jo explained that he can never relax at the shelters: "There are too many people, and sometimes I'll sit in a chair and somebody will come up and say 'That's my chair.'" Celia voiced a similar complaint: "OK, here's the thing about the shelters: I have a short temper, and at [the C Shelter] there is always drama, there's always somebody yelling at you! They have no respect! Like it's time to go to bed, and then somebody turns on the lights! I don't like that!"

Based on my experiences at the shelters, this claustrophobic reaction is entirely understandable. In a room of 150 people, privacy does not exist. Constant interaction with other guests can get extremely frustrating, especially when conflicts occur due to limited resources.

After experiencing both Tent City and the shelters, I have come to view Tent City residents' decision to move out in to the forest as completely rational. While some people enjoy the constant presence of many people, others prefer to have more privacy and quiet. Tent City people are not crazy; they are merely the latter type of person, and due to their economic constraints, they were unable to afford a quiet apartment of their own.

Their best option was to set up tents and move into the forest.

Life in Tent City

At this point, I have explained why Tent City residents choose to sleep in the forest instead of the shelters. However, this does not explain why they had to make this difficult choice in the first place: why were they unable to afford a more conventional home? While a comprehensive analysis of the many factors that lead to homelessness is beyond the purview of this manuscript, I address the two most common factors as voiced by Tent City residents: substance abuse and unemployment.

Substance Abuse

In 1991, the Cuomo Commision took random urine samples from people staying in general-purpose shelters in New York City. Sixty-six percent tested positive for cocaine (Jencks 1994: 42). Around the same time in New Haven, nearly 70 percent of guests at emergency shelters reported substance abuse as a

problem in their lives (Hartwell 2008: 80). Every person I talked to in Tent City admitted to having had problems with drugs or alcohol at one point in their lives.

Based on this strong correlation, it is tempting to assume that substance abuse leads to homelessness. Indeed, this view is often expressed in popular discourse—in a recent article about Tent City in the New Haven Independent many of the readers' comments were along these lines: "Everyone out in the woods is on drugs! I really feel like this would be the best DON'T DO DRUGS message to youth, you'll end up a beaver trapper in the Yukon" (Tuhus 2009),

Homeless advocates are quick to note that "correlation does not equal causation," and argue that the relationship between homelessness and drug use is more complex. Since crack is often easily available near places where homeless people congregate, it could be that homelessness is the cause, rather than a symptom, of crack use (Jencks 1994: 43). In this scenario, we imagine an individual who recently lost his job, got kicked out of his apartment, and decides to spend a night in a big-city shelter. Once there, he becomes acquainted with crack users who convince him to take part in their destructive habit. As the drug offers him a temporary escape from his troubles, he becomes a habitual user and eventually becomes addicted.

Which story is more convincing? Is drug addiction leading to homelessness, or is homelessness leading to drug addiction? My ethnographic study has yielded mixed results. Nearly every person I met in Tent City described him/herself as a recovering addict, and many attribute their homelessness to their previous drug addictions. Celia provides one such example: "I was addicted, you understand? But I've been clean for 4 months." She blames her addiction to heroin for her current situation. She is proud that she has been clean for so long, and hopeful that her life will improve now that she is overcoming her addiction.

Celia's heroin addiction was somewhat different from that of other Tent City residents for whom crack was the problem. Though a hit of crack only costs a few dollars, its highly addictive nature and fleeting effects mean that it can take an incredible toll on one's finances. Ty and Ma once explained to me how one crack binge could leave them broke overnight5. For this reason, among others, most people at Tent City are trying to abstain from drugs. Ro, Ma, Wanda, Ty, and Celia have all told me with pride that they are "recovering addicts," and think that becoming permanently clean is the first step to improving their situations. In fact, it is partly for this reason that Ma avoids the shelters. At the shelters, the temptation and constant presence of drug users make it very difficult to stay clean. Ro, Ty, and Wanda all confirmed this statement.

Thus, my data could be used to support both causal relationships. On the one hand, some Tent City residents self-reported that drugs were the primary cause of their condition. Others implied that, because of the constant presence and availability of crack, homelessness actually caused their addiction.

Rather than choose a side, I would argue that both drug addiction and homelessness are symptoms of an underlying problem. Whenever I asked Tent City residents when they use crack, they responded that they tended to relapse after a stressful or depressing event. One such example was when Ty was unexpectedly admitted into a rehabilitation program, leaving Ma on her own: "I relapsed 'cuz of that. I didn't have a chance to kiss him goodbye or anything. They just took him away!" Among Tent City residents I found a common consensus that people revert to abusing substances out of weakness. Ty once explained to me why he thinks people use crack: "Cuz they are depressed." According to my subjects, people do not smoke crack out of isolation, but as a response or escape from difficult situations in their lives.

Here we see a spiraling effect: people turn to drug use as a cure for depression during difficult times. But minutes after the drug-induced high, the user finds himself in an even lower low, for which the easiest cure is another hit. Yet the more one smokes, the more depressed he becomes, and a growing part of his resources are spent procuring more drugs. In this way, drug addiction may act as the final push that causes an at-risk person to become homeless. But drug abuse in itself did not lead people to Tent City--- it was more often the combination of drug use and long-term unemployment.

Unemployment

According to New Haven's 2009 survey, only 14% of New Haven's homeless were currently working (CCEH.org). "Rent Problems" was the number one reason given for respondents leaving their last place of residence. The relationship between homelessness and unemployment seems clear: without employment, at risk individuals are unable to pay rent and are forced to give up their apartments.

Of the people I met at Tent City, Jo was the only one who was formally employed, selling newspapers on the street. He wakes up at 4:00

AM, collects the papers from his boss, and goes to his assigned location. This is usually near a stoplight next to a busy road. He waits until the light turns red and then walks up and down the line of cars, stopping when someone opens their window to buy a paper. He remains on location from 6:30 AM to 3:00 PM every day.

This work is neither easy nor lucrative. He makes 35 cents for every paper he sells, except on Sundays when he makes 55 cents. However, weekdays are actually better, because often people will give him a dollar for the 75 cent paper, so he gets to keep the extra quarter, bringing his profit up to 60 cents. The number of papers he sells depends greatly on where he is assigned on a given day. At a good location, he can expect to make $10-$20 over the course of his eight hour day. On other days, however, he is less fortunate:

Jo: One day my boss gives me 30 papers for free because he is trying to build up the location. He tells me to go there and sell what I can.

30 papers for free? I knew something was up. So I go to the spot, and the light turns red, and then next thing I know, it turns green! I had nothing to do, so just for fun I counted how long it stayed red: 15 seconds! How can I sell papers in 15 seconds? Andrew: Wow, so did you sell any?

Jo: HELL no!

On such days, Jo returns home to his tent with less than $10 profit the entire day. On days when it is cold, raining, or snowing, his job can be downright miserable.

Thus, the first thing to note is that Jo's work ethic is alive and well—he works long hours for very little reward. He told me that "It's not the best job," but he is happy to be working rather than panhandling or stealing. In this way, he was slowly saving up money until he was arrested for an outstanding warrant in late November.

Why did Jo work at such an unrewarding job? Why aren't other Tent City residents employed? Why don't they apply for jobs? These questions can largely be answered by considering New Haven's high unemployment rate and the homeless' lack of social capital.

Stigma

The homeless has always been a stigmatized population, but Tent

City residents seem to be even more heavily stigmatized. During my first day at Tent City, Ma and I were walking along the road when a policeman approached us. He was in the area investigating a car nearby that had been broken into. When Ma revealed that she lived in Tent City, he became hostile, asking us if we had anything to do with the crime. Ma acted very friendly and open, and the cop gradually replaced his hostile attitude with a patronizing one. At one point, Ma asked if he had ever been to Tent City. He looked at me and smiled as he answered: "No, I've never gone down there. I'm afraid to go down there."This policeman was not alone in fearing Tent City people. Wanda told me how people she met at the church looked down on her when she revealed that she lived in the forest. "They pull their children away from me! Everyone thinks that, since we live out here, we must be animals." Ro described similar situations in which people berated him for his unconventional lifestyle.

This stigma can certainly make acquiring a job more difficult. First, Tent City residents face difficulties when filling out application forms. Under "Address," they are unable to put "Tent City" as their place of residence. In addition, despite the fact that some Tent City residents have no criminal record (and those that do are predominately nonviolent, drug-related offenses), there is a general consensus that Tent City people are dangerous. I heard this sentiment expressed by policemen, citizens that live near the forest, homeless men in the

shelters, and my colleagues at the university. Because people know so little about these individuals, they tend to assume the worst. In this light, it is no wonder that Tent City residents are seldom recruited by employers.

Alternative Employment

With little prospect of securing a formal job, Tent City residents must find alternative sources of income. While some occasionally receive money from the state, they all engage in various types of work to support themselves. One such activity is panhandling. Ty, Ma, Ro, and Wanda all depend on panhandling as a primary source of income. They have explained to me that panhandling is more complicated than it looks, and there are various ways of going about it:

Ma & Ty's campsite

Ty: The money he makes, Ro could have been out of Tent City a month after he came.

Andrew: Why?

Ty: Because of the way he panhandles! Andrew: You don't panhandle?

Ty: I panhandle, but not like him! Ma: TY's no good…

Ty: I never make money panhandling... the other day I did really good, I made 7 dollars the whole day.

Andrew: So what does Ro do that's different? Ty: It's the sign!

Andrew: Why don't you make a sign? Ty: I don't ROLL like that.

Ma: We HUSTLE, we go up to people and ask them.

Different people seem to have varying success at panhandling. Ty and Ma criticize Ro's form of panhandling in which he stands next to a busy road and holds a sign that says "Homeless and hungry." Their criticism seems to be that Ro is not working hard enough. Using a sign is too easy--- Ma and Ty seem to think that a panhandler needs to hustle in order to do the job right. However, their form of panhandling seems to be much less effective if on a good day Ty is only able to earn $7.

Again, we see a form of the American work ethic alive and well in Tent City. While most people tend to consider panhandlers as lazy free- riders, Tent City residents view it as a difficult form of labor. It is physically and mentally taxing to stand on the side of the road for hours, breathing car exhaust and taking insults from unsympathetic people.

Another popular source of income is the collection of empty cans. In Connecticut, beverage consumers are charged a 5 cents deposit on each can or bottle. They can earn back this deposit by bringing the container to a redemption center, but most people forego this small reward because it is easier to dispose of the cans elsewhere.

These empty containers have the potential to be a source of income: by collecting a sufficient number of cans and bringing them to the redemption center, one can make a few dollars. Twenty cans equates to $1, 100 cans are worth

$5. Celia and Beth frequently make money in this manner. The advantage of "canning" is that it is viewed as an honest form of income, in contrast to panhandling. However, it is somewhat dirty since many of the cans are not completely empty, and is extremely time consuming considering the miniscule profit. In addition, it can be stigmatizing, as people often look down upon people sifting through trash for cans.

A final source of income I noticed at Tent City was door-to-door salesmanship. On one occasion, Ma and Ty found a used toolkit on the side of the road. I walked with them as they carried the toolkit to the main road and attempted to sell it to various businesses. As we approached a car repair shop, Ma took the toolkit and approached some men talking outside the garage. After a brief conversation, she returned to us, saying "They won't buy it for

$20. I'm not selling it for less than $20!" They then continued onward to the next business, also without success. In situations such as these, the last resort is always the pawnshop, which will likely offer them a few dollars for the toolkit.

Though these three sources of income (panhandling, canning, finding-and-selling) are not considered formal employment, they generate some income and require a significant amount of time and effort. Anderson and Snow call these sources of income "shadow work":

The general tendency is that the longer the homeless are on the streets and the more they drive into the world of the outsider, the less salient wage labor becomes as a mode of subsistence for them and the more prominent become one or more forms of shadow work (p. 169).

In this way, shadow work gradually takes the place of formal wage labor as the dominant source of income. Contrary to popular depictions of the lazy homeless, Snow and Anderson adamantly argue that this substitution is not the result of a decline in work ethic:

It is not a decline in work orientation per se that accounts for the greater prominence of shadow work among outsiders, but a change in orientation from the world of regular work to the world of shadow work. Most outsiders retain the incentive to work—they have no choice if they are to survive—but it is directed to a different order of work (p. 169).

Snow and Anderson are spot on in this argument. The shift away from formal employment is not the result of a decline in the work ethic: it is a rational response to a system that fails to provide these individuals with jobs. Celia's prospects of finding a job in 2010 are sufficiently low such that picking up cans all day and redeeming them for 5 cents a piece is a more economically efficient use of her time than job searching would be. In sum, Tent City people are not unemployed because they lack the willingness or ability to work—the main thing they lack is opportunity.

Unfortunately, the skills one learns while engaged in shadow work are not easily transferable to a formal job. Panhandling can rarely be listed as "relevant

work experience." Anderson and Snow are correct in surmising that the longer an individual remains homeless, the more likely he is to depend on these sources of income. As he becomes more efficient in this type of work, he becomes increasingly reliant on it, and less likely to seek or obtain formal employment. In this way, life in Tent City tends to propagate itself. While writing about Skid Row (1968), Samuel Wallace noted that:

From the point of view of responsible society, the skid rower has become desocialized. From the point of view of skid row society he has become socialized and acculturated. It is in this phase that the individual may be publicly labeled a deviant through arrest, sentence, and incarceration (p. 100).

A similar process occurs in Tent City. As individuals become integrated into Tent City, their ties within that community become stronger while their ties with "normal" society disintegrate. This makes life in Tent City more manageable, but decreases one's chances of leaving.

Inability to Save Money

I have often been surprised by Tent City residents' inability to save money. Many residents wake up in the morning without a dollar to their name. Because they make very little income, they have learned to be extremely frugal--- Ro and Wanda once explained to me how to get from New Haven to Hartford for under $5 by using a variety of bus transfers.

However, on the few occasions that Ro, Elaine, Ma, or Ty do find themselves with an excess of money, they seem to spend it immediately. For example, Ma and Ty save a few dollars everyday so that, once a month, they can afford to rent a hotel room in which to shower, clean, and relax.

Another example of seemingly irrational spending is on cigarettes. I have often been amazed by the amount of money that Tent City residents, and the homeless in general, spend on cigarettes. Considering the astronomical price of cigarettes (around $7.50 a pack and constantly rising), it is astounding that people with such a small income maintain the habit.

In fact, however, everyone I met in Tent City routinely smokes cigarettes, as do most of the men I met in the shelters. Ma has spent hours panhandling on the street, only to acquire enough money to buy a $7.50 pack of cigarettes. The link between smoking and poverty has been well established, but I have been unable to find a convincing argument for why this occurs. In "Poverty and Smoking," the authors lay out five different hypotheses to explain the high rate of smoking among impoverished individuals. Of these, the only convincing argument is the third: "The adoption of smoking may be a replacement reward, as smoking is often described as one of the few things a poor person can do for himself " (Bobak et al. 2000: 57). According to this argument, a high rate of smoking among the homeless occurs because it is one of their only sources of pleasure. The same logic can be applied to Ma and Ty's monthly hotel vacations: these vacations are some of the few material comforts that they are able to en-

joy.

Whatever the reason, few people at Tent City are able to save money. Without money, they will never be able to find conventional housing. However, because of stigma and daily difficulties associated with living in the forest, they are largely unable to find employment until they leave Tent City. This puts them in a double-bind: one needs a job to get conventional housing, but one needs conventional housing to get a job. What is the way out? How can the cycle be broken?

There seem to be two possibilities. Celia and Beth are attempting one: stay clean from drugs and apply for state-assisted housing. They applied a few months ago, and Celia is confident that they will soon be offered a home at an affordable cost. Once they are living in a secure environment, they will be better able to find and hold jobs, eventually becoming financially independent. Unfortunately, this plan of action hinges on state-funded housing assistance, of which there is a relatively low supply. They have yet to hear back from the housing authority.

Jo was pursuing another path out of Tent City. Before he got rearrested for an outstanding warrant, he was slowly saving up money from his job as a newspaper salesman. Since he was only making around

$10 - $20 a day, it would have taken painfully long to save enough money to afford a conventional home, but he seemed to be on the right track. The advantage of this path is that it does not rely on state assistance. The disadvantage is that it may be unrealistic to expect to be able to climb out of poverty through such a low-paying job. For his part, Jo seemed to be succeeding until his unexpected reencounter with the police.

Conclusion

In this ethnography, I have attempted to answer the deceptively simple question: "Why do people live in Tent City?" I found that, in most cases, the combination of drug abuse and long-term unemployment led them to become homeless, and a desire for freedom and solitude led them to prefer the cold forest over the crowded shelters. Finally, I looked at some of the endogenous characteristics of life at Tent City in order to explain why it is so difficult for them to improve their circumstances.

In August 2010, all residents of New Haven's Tent City were evicted by New Haven and West Haven police. Many of the residents were strongly opposed to this turn of events, but were unable to counter charges from outsiders that theirs was a dangerous and harmful community. A similar dismantling occurred in 2008 in Waterbury, CT, when a city crew dismantled a community of tents and shacks that provided shelter for 17 men (Burnell 2008). The same occurred in a squatter community in Toronto, Canada (Bishop-Stall 2004). Sac-

ramento, CA, responded similarly with respect to its 150 member strong Tent City (Hurt 2009).

It is easy to imagine why homeless encampments retain such a negative image in mainstream society. However, over the course of this study, I have come to view New Haven's Tent City as a generally positive force in its former residents' lives. The shelters are not suitable for everyone, and Tent City residents had valid reasons for building their own homes in the forest. Furthermore, considering that the shelters were already operating at maximum capacity, dismantling Tent City could not have made the situation any better. In the future, I would implore city officials to closely examine the condition of people living in similar communities. Many of these people live in homeless encampments because it is their best (or only) option---- eviction only exacerbates the problem of homelessness.

Until we can actually help Tent City residents, we should consider following

Ro's advice: "I wish they would just leave me alone." A home in the forest is better than no home at all.

Acknowledgements

First I offer my sincere gratitude to all of the Tent City residents that formed a part of this ethnography. This paper would not exist if not for their generosity and willingness to share sensitive information about their lives. I am particularly indebted to Ro, Ma, Wanda, and Ty, who were always extremely welcoming and provided the majority of the insights that are contained in this paper.

In addition, I thank Elijah Anderson, who taught me everything I know about ethnography and guided this project from beginning to end. Finally, I thank Hannah Brückner, Eric Lum, Philip Smith, Julia Adams, Ron Eyerman, my fellow 2010 sociology majors, and my parents, who all provided valuable edits and advice at different stages of this project. Every ethnography is a collaborative effort--- this one was especially so.

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Strategic aspects of venture management.

Rahim Sadygov

Abstract *Strategic management theoretical and practical bases for the development of the comprehensive management of new and existing industrial enterprises is considered to be the most important conditions. First of all, to define new strategic objectives in the industry, the scientific and methodological basis of the socio-economic development of management is needed. Second, matters or the inclination to go to foreign markets to the emerging industrial enterprises in the current period, as well as increased competition in the international arena when the strategic management and development of enterprises, and their long-term development, there is a need to increase economic efficiency.*

Keywords: *management, comprehensive management, strategic aspects, emerging industry*

Received *14.06.2018*
Accepted *16.09.2018*

DOI *10:116.MES/45-86.101*

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Introduction

The global financial crisis of global macro and micro economic environment in a number of venues has paralyzed. However, the strategic action program that can insure the activities of international and domestic markets, organizations in crisis situations. From another side of the issue say that the competitiveness of industrial enterprises in the competitive environment and strengthen the competitiveness of their products requires efficient and strategic management. All of the necessary conditions to justify the relevance of the study. In this regard, we have a number of purposes, and they have tried to achieve.

The aims and objectives of the study. The purpose of the study of strategic management in a market economy in the theoretical and methodological and practical issues of industry study was to explore the details. The purpose of the study, said the contents of the set to tackle the problem, the example of The industrial enterprises have different organizational and legal form of organization formation of strategic management, modernization and development have contributed to the achievement. For this purpose, the purpose of the study can be characterized as follows.

- the strategic aspects of management to identify.
- Industrial enterprises to formulate policies to improve the strategic management sistemlərinininin optimal and cost-effective manner;
- Continuing growth oriented strategy and sub-systems to explore and define the mechanism of its implementation;
- Industrial enterprises of strategic management and implementation of exemplary material, labor and financial resources to explore the use of the strategic aspects;

To this end, various organizational and legal form, which has several directions in the strategic management and development of the sub-systems of the organization and the scientific basis for the effective implementation of the comprehensive work and concrete proposals, it was considered necessary to develop valuable recommendations. To achieve this goal in a number of articles put forward the tasks have been fulfilled. These tasks are as follows:

- Strategic management has identified the key factors behind the need;
- The essence of the strategic management of key aspects of the application and identified objects;
- globalization of the world economy studies of macro and micro economic environment for the development of management systems;
- Strategic management in the organization and development of the basic principles and methods of application have been identified;

First of all, the essence of strategic management and scientific research disclosed. There is long-term and effective strategic management. Because of the strategic management to achieve strategic goals and ensure that the imposition of economic activity in the system. Strategic management requires high labor and financial costs. Because of the strategic program on the basis of strategic management in the form of strategic plans. Strategic plans are drawn up for a long time and capital investment for the strategic plans, innovative projects and specific investment projects. In addition to stipulating the need to explore aspects of strategic management factors such as the need to form of government available. Zəruriliyin factors can be divided into two groups of strategic management.

1. Strategic management objective factors
2. Strategic Management subjective factors.

Strategic management is divided into a number of objective factors:

- Macroeconomic factors on the issues;
- on matters of microeconomic factors;

Such factors act as elements of the strategic management of technology and is involved in making management decisions. Strategic objectives to ensure the usefulness of the study and analysis of all factors that affect its adoption is necessary. One of these factors are regarded as the most important environmental factors are considered.

Our research, based on analysis of the strategy to determine whether environmental factors, their effects will be taken into account. In this case, the internal and external environment, taking into account factors such as the motives of their determination to investigate and study the strategy is regarded as a constituent element.

The analysis of the sequence of stages of the adoption of the strategy factors in the external environment, internal environment factors vararkən assessed prior coordination. The effects of environmental factors in determining the level of the external environment, depends on the forms. For example, the creation of fixed assets, production technology innovation in this field, depends on the level of scientific and technical progress. Without taking into account the changes in the environment of the organization's internal environment formalasdırarsa if he does not meet the market demand, product development, and as a producer of the rest of the competition, which would lose in the process can be taken as the risk of future activity.

We have come to the conclusion that environmental factors, forecasted, and these factors should be studied in conjunction with each other., The COC should be considered in the coordination of their inner world. Because of the financial krizisləri MBAs often in recent years shows that this problem under the influence of other factors in the enterprise system for the problems that it creates in the form of a network. In case of other factors to be studied in a systematic advance to isolate problems. That will allow you to block. This means that companies and organizations studying environmental factors that eating environment, with the necessary information and assessing factors such as its domestic production, labor and financial relations, building a wide range of activities organized in the form of reproduction is developing

However, the successful implementation of the strategy in the future, then the next important stage of the analysis of environmental factors that require the implementation of the process, strategic decision-making phase.

Strategic management is divided into a number of subjective factors.

- Strategic Management stimulating factors;
- Investment related to the strategic management factors;
- Human resources-related factors
- Factors related to the application of innovations.

Strategic management of a number of procedural steps have been operating system combines. In other words, strategic planning, corporate strategy,

business strategy, marketing strategy, strategic control and so on. combines these processes. The leaders of the organization to a higher form of strategic management implementation and operational activities in its theoretical and practical basis for their application should be achieved. There are several factors contributing to the need for strategic management, so that they improve their governance, such as the necessity of a productive form of action for the future successful operation of enterprises and organizations directed qaynaqlanaraq. The main requirements for the implementation of strategic management in the organization are as follows.

- properly define the strategic objectives;
- Strategic management principles, opportunities, shape and define ways;
- Industrial enterprises of social production, dynamic and proportional development;
- increase the efficiency of production to ensure the economic consequences;
- Strategic management and acceleration of scientific and technical progress, directing the growth of labor productivity.

Economic strategy to achieve the goals as well as ways and means to ensure accurate identification. It is a dynamic and proportional development of social production, improve the efficiency of scientific and technical progress accelerating, raising labor productivity, improving the overall quality of the national economy, which means all the links work. (14, p. 378).

Besides the economic issues of strategic management, as well as technical or technological side, it is necessary to give details about. In addition to conditioning the environment to improve the quality of strategic management at these factors should be taken into account. The economic, legal, political, social and technological factors involving the analysis it is important to take into consideration.

Strategic management is not unlimited. This means that the strategic management of all situations, issues and problems are not universal. Even as the impact of strategic management in the future is not so. It is also possible that certain deviations. Strategic management of its systems, structure, methods, principles, function, application and impact of economic efficiency and so on. studied the problems associated with the systematic next yarımfəsildə.

Industrial enterprises, strategic management sub-systems and their implementation, as well as theoretical and conceptual bases of research and is believed to be the subject of dissertation research. For this, the investigation of this problem, the development of strategic management of the scientific - practical methodology requires muəyyənləsdiririlməsni. For this purpose, the leading business principles of the methodology, it is considered necessary to systematize collection methods specific concepts. We have given a brief account of some of the research is based on the same concept.

The need for clarification of the nature of our problem in the industry and strategic management of key aspects of the scientific interpretation and requires explanation. We are considering all these researchers, the article industrial enterprises, social, economic and technical issues have been considered appropriate that the basic nature of the investigation.

We all studies, strategic management system is composed of several subsystems, and reflected on their relationship. And successful implementation of strategic management in the face of industrial enterprises to improve the country's economic development has played a role as an urgent issue.

It's mikromuhitində məsələlıər industry, individual companies and organizations in the development showed itself. Microeconomic economic development, mezoiqtisadi, in order to achieve progress in the areas of macro and meqaiqtisadi is considered the main directions of development of the national economy.

In fact, every country, the existence and survival of the national requirements for the needs of the economy. Studies have shown that independent states have not been able to achieve rapid economic development strategy and tactics, the development strategy of the industrial enterprises of the state's economy has been observed in progressive regulation.

Prepared in accordance with the formation and development of market economy and the gradual emergence of policy on the one hand and the development of different forms of ownership and economic predicts. This policy is based on mutually beneficial cooperation as well as an "open door" policies, to attract foreign investment, protection, provision of free activity, free enterprise requires the creation of conditions for development.

The creation of new industrial enterprises, infrastructure plays an important role in strengthening public concern in this area. The modernization of the industry, the financial resources to be effectively involved in the circulation of labor in the productive use of resources in this area relates to the functions of the state's top priority. To this end, the country's industrial capacity, industrial restructuring and the creation of a new macro and microeconomic environment of processing enterprises in the role of incentives for the development of strategic management may ouna.

The strategic purpose of such programs is not to affect the operation of existing and emerging enterprises. Impacts of economic development, which manifests itself in a positive direction meylləndirir subjects, leads to innovation, structure, performance improvement is pushed. The basis of modernization and improvement of enterprises and organizations of the organization's new strategic programs. Such programs of the organization's strategic objectives in the planning sub-systems. According to a study carried out by the prospect of a strategic development program of development of facilities-based research, development directions of activity in certain areas and requires systematization.

From the perspective of strategic management in the long-term, sustainable, inkifafyonumlu influence of the nature of the group with a lower sistelmərdə it is possible to combine several classification. Thus, the schedule of qualifying teams engaged in strategic management activities is presented as an action plan for leaders in this field. In other words, the system is able to manage the performance of leaders and their issues themselves in the areas of strategic management may indicate that you need to touch.

Table. Strategic management of the classification of the level of the subsystems.

Fəaliyyət sahələri üzrə təsnifatı
Strategiyanın müəyyən olunmasının texnologiyası nın təsnifat qrupu
Strateji idarə etmə
İqtisadi səmərəliliyin yüksəldilməsi nin təsnifat qrupu.
İdarəetmə strategiyasını n təsnifatı

Speaking about the identification and implementation of strategic management in the organization of the event in the first place it is necessary to know the basics of technology. Successful implementation of strategic management technology, in order to reflect the theoretical and practical fundamentals of shyness. But I understood what the term strategic management of technology.

The implementation of technology is the Greek word generally incorporates a set of methods and tools. In fact, the implementation of technology and culture. In other words, improving the experience gained in this field, is associated with the development and application. If you work where there is available technology and technology usullr. Facilitates the implementation of such methods, allows you to save time, material and labor resusrslarından create the conditions for effective use. As in all areas of technology in the field of management methods and tools available. The ways and means of improving the impact of

the production goal, increasing sales revenue and earnings, though, the goal is to improve the management of the activities of its direct impact. System administration activities to strategic management systems and the technological methods and means of infra systems in the sphere of strategic action takes place.

Strategic management and implementation of the organization's technology strategy as a concept and understanding of the system is required. As we mentioned, the strategy for the long-term to long-term actions to be implemented to achieve the goals of generalized modelidirsə During this period, the enterprises and the organization's strengths and weaknesses, the opportunities available to their business activities are expected to examine the environmental hazards identifiedrməlidir. The strategy for the organization, subject of the environment and the built environment. In other words, the internal environment is formed, aims to expand the opportunities for it to adapt to the external environment and is forced to react dəyiskloklərə. Because of this, the built environment in a market economy is not the only source of growth. Achieving growth factors in the external environment as well as to do that you need to be able to understand and appreciate the existence of strategic management is considered one of the main factors cərtləndirən.

Musəssisələrinin industrial strategy, the company will have to engage in any business activitiestasks to be carried out in this direction and reflects prevents. All of this unit is set in the strategic planning process, its sub-systems for the marketing, finance, investment, innovation, information, processes, organization and implementation of the conditions. Summarizing the above, we can note that strategy starts with the following strategic aims and progress.

1. The selection of activities.
2. Choosing the type of products to be manufactured.
3. Implementation of capital investment.
4. Improving the existing production.
5. Identification of prospects.
6. Strengthening the competitiveness of the organization.

If the strategy of the organization's long-term activities, as mentioned above, incorporates the existence of the present and future prospects contains its determination is considered to be one of the most responsible for the organization.

The above-mentioned issues, umumfirma strategy for identifying priority. Umumfirma strategy and the bottom of the above-mentioned objectives of the strategy to implement the system in an organized manner is formed and divided areas. In other words, each area consisting of a half of action, as well as its subsystem areas. As well as the organization's main activities are in the sphere of individual functional areas and support activities. Therefore, the strategic management of the organization, reflecting the fundamentals of management to manage the process to cover areas such as the bottom of the can. To this end,

the management of the strategic areas of research in the bottom of the classification shows that as a group,

Justifying this kind of opinion on the level of organization in the areas of marketing strategy defined umumfirma, manufacturing, financial and organizational strategies are considered as the 4 main directions infrastrategiyalara bolunmusuk below.

Strategy sub-systems

The above-mentioned strategic directions, the essence of the scientific bases, organization, implementation and development of the next half of the season we will talk about the issues.

Strategic management in the organization and development of the system in terms of economic efficiency and improve the impact of the results. In this respect, strategic management and other subsystems has its own classification.In this case, it acts as a guarantor of the future of the organization as a strategic management can be successful.

successful One of the components that make up the organization's strategy is clear and correctly identify the basis for the mission. The organization's mission, its future prospects, longevity, and socio-economic aspects of the market reflects satisfaction. The mission of the organization derives from its higher purpose, and that purpose is directed enrichment. Missions for the formation of a strategic action plan and carrying out of social and public interests. That is what you have to produce to make a profit, which can be engaged in activities

that ultimately benefit the community can give. In other words, the pursuit of material gain is the social interests of the community derives from the moral and material interests.

Marketers argue that the social nature of the mission. However, we think that the mission's target in this case would be kiciltmis framework. The higher purpose of the mission of the organization, the purpose for which it is-bildirirməklə wanted to reach to the social interests of the community, the organization aims to take into account the socio-economic interests. The main objective of the industrial enterprises to produce products, but the demand for those products that consumers pay in the end. For example, businesses that created heavy or light The industrial production of material goods, the nature and needs of the consumer paid according to the classification of consumers differ from each other. For example, enterprises engaged in production of light industry needs people odəsələr-to-understand the needs of enterprises engaged in the production of the means of production indirectly pay. So if you or other machines for the textile industry equipment is produced in the field of heavy industry. So always-on activities concentrate on social goal. That result can be completed with the payment of economic interests.

According to the literature in a variety of missions must be the driving dynamic is explained by the fact that the profitability and the profitability of the organization, he must missions. But this dynamic that links him to any other entity's strategic objective to achieve the organization's mission is directed. In other words, the higher and lower ends of the system purposes. Secondary objectives of the organization's strategic activities across the system. Achieving that goal requires the creation of a hierarchy of higher purposes. For the purposes of any large-scale system so as to achieve the goal qoylur face.

Intense competition in the global financial crisis and strengthening the competitiveness of enterprises at present dominated by the issue of the highest priority strategic objectives and is considered one of the important directions. Of course, to achieve this goal is to have a strong material and technical basis, production innovations to apply new technologies to use, and so on. Measures need to accomplish. It is considered as a sub-objectives of the strategic objectives. To achieve these goals, because much of the labor, financial capital, which is one of the key contributors to the existence of a long-term strategy is required.

Such goals should serve as a system to achieve higher goals. However, interaction and unity of purpose must consist of a subset of the system. The objectives are considered to be a component of the management process. For such purpose, strategy, strategic decision-making is the structure. For the purposes of human thought, is considered to be a product of human thought. So it has nothing to do with the psychology of strategic management control. We can coordinate with what you can do?

In the human brain, he thinks of all the ideas formed as a goal or purpose

become. The opinions and ideas are analyzed, evaluated, implementation is seen as the set if necessary. In other words, the product of human thinking and thinking and thinking filtered through such purpose, how extensive and detailed form, skillfully and responsibly carried out, can be very useful for the purposes of the organization. In fact, we can note that the desired results in the future due to the implementation of strategic decisions volitional act. The implementation of this act of human consciousness, his thinking, imagination, play a significant role in the cognitive process.

As is well known. The material is information only for the decision. Strategic decisions are the source of the information is also of strategic importance. Such information shall be systematized and is used as a raw material in the process of strategic decision-making process. Systematic processing of data is a complex process in itself. This process goes through 4 stages.

1) Explore data
2) analysis of data
3) Comparison of alternative information
4) Evaluation of information.

These stages strategiji functioning system of governance research confirms nature. Alternatively, different circumstances, whether from the Latin word, means other ways. Alternative ways to achieve the purpose of the information systems of the organization, methods, options for assessing the effectiveness of their enterprise will allow you to assess whether or useful.

Strategic alternatives under management in the alternative environment factors, understood alternative resources. The strategic goal of achieving the strategic objectives that serve as alternatives to the bottom of the system. At the same time, the diversity of objectives for themselves and their composition can be sohbər. One of the faults of the selection process can be selected from any of the alternatives, or some of them may be used simultaneously, or one-step procedure can replace each other.

Identification of alternatives to explore their opportunities. Alternatives to the formation of the more challenging environment that creates more research. In other words, no more than up to the best options for evaluation of alternativlərnə object is created. Thus, the number of alternatives selected option plays a role in the degree of optimality.

The analysis of the data, which is an important milestone in the strategic decision-making. Analysis of the data will be processed in order to assess whether the new faydalılı how important decisions. Analysis of data structure, its composition, the content is a reference to the details. The analysis for the study of alternative forms of information based on qualifications and the characters more important. This process is considered acceptable for strategic management for optimal decision-making.

Compare different sides and aspects, one or another of them to determine the difference between one and another rule or confrontation, confrontation,

reconciliation method. This method of giving preference to alternatives, which is very important for decision making. As a result of the approach of the system by comparing the alternatives, the process approach, is to draw attention to the elements. A comparison of the influence of these systems because the systems are separate and require separate elements fərqləndirilməsini. In this case, if the system is to be compared with each other alternatives, but they have a different point in the approach to the process or processes by comparison with other parties in the form of How helpful or useful for dəyərləndirilmək oyrənilirlər as an option. The floor-strategy assessment process still occurs. By comparison, the method concludes with an assessment of which option is superior to others at any level.

As is known, the system administration activities in the strategic management process, enterprises and organizations in the implementation of its activities is to achieve the ultimate goal. The process of strategic management functions in the sphere of principles, a set of methods of performing. It covers all aspects of the development of enterprise strategic management process. Because of all the sub-systems which serve to achieve the strategy, tactics, combines current and prompt action programs. It is not an area that should remain outside the control and management of the activity. In that case, the problems in this area arasdırılmaz, learn to analyze, to be their inevitable,

Strategic idatrəetmə, as well as legal, economic, social, social, psychological and legal processes that incorporates processes reflect the stages of all the action. This kind of strategic management in the unified management system, such as a set of processes, organization and implementation of a comprehensive strategic performance targets. Management process to achieve the goals, such as planning, organization, set up with the help of motivləsdirmə and control processes and final results of the actions that led to the events, it is understood the totality of activities. As Strategiji subsystem performance management process management, strategic planning, organizational strategy and control of strategy.

Strategic management process, managers, leaders, managers, and by those who managed to predict many of those within their competence, the implementation of the arrangement, in connection with the execution of the legal process. Such management process for the implementation of the above mentioned subprocesses, which are more functional management process requires the implementation of the administrative process.

According to the organization, not only in the management of the administrative process of the legal process, as well as main and auxiliary enterprise spheres of activity and its structure, the implementation of the regulation provides. In general, the regulation of administrative control means. The impact of administrative entity object, it reflects the successful operation. However, according to the concept of regulation, to ensure the means to follow. Thus, administration of the subject on the basis of the relevant rules and regulations under the influence of an object, a process aimed at the settlement activity and its

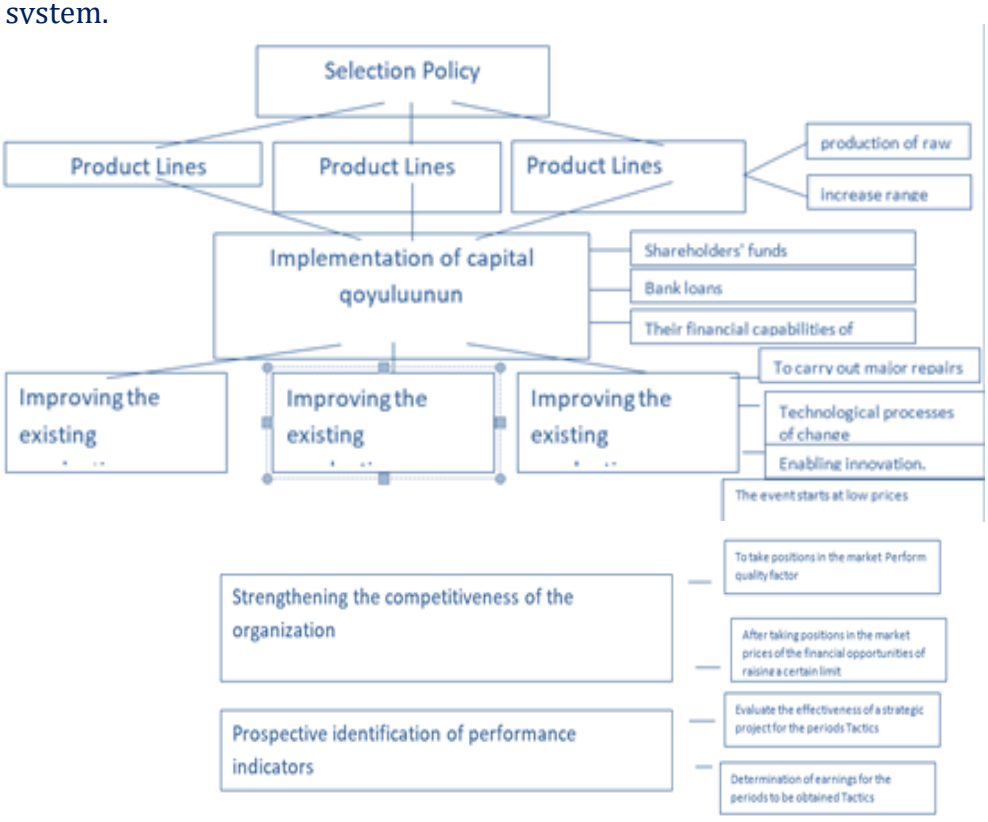
separate areas, such as management of the successful implementation and achievement of results: Positive Ratings service.

In general administration activities in touch with the process of strategic managementRelations between management and staff for the exemplary behavior of the narrow and reflects movements. Strategic management process features are also available. They include:

1. Strategic management process design and implementation of the strategic plans.
2. Strategic management process is directed to the organization's strategic purpose of activity.
3. Strategic management of process controls, such as the implementation of activities.
4. Strategic management process in the organization of the powers of government formation and incorporates the mechanism of administrative pressure on its implementation.
5. Strategic management process includes a system of measures related to the implementation of the tactical objectives.

The main objective of the strategic management process is to use manpower and labor, so that means, the resources necessary to ensure the efficient consumption as much as possible to reach the ultimate goal should be to provide income. Strategic management as a process of sub-processes, these processes are in turn made up of intermediate stages.

Table. The strategic objectives of management on the procedural structure of the svstem.


Selection Policy
Product Lines
Product Lines
Product Lines
production of raw
Increase range
Implementation of capital qoyuluunun
Shareholders' funds
Bank loans
Their financial capabilities of
To carry out malor repairs
Improving the existing
Improving the existing
Improving the existing
Technological processes of change
Enabling innovation.
The event starts at low prices
Strengthening the competitiveness of the organization
To take positions in the market Perform quality factor
After taking positions in the market prices of the financial opportunities of raising a certain limit
Prospective identification of performance indicators
Evaluate the effectiveness of a strategic project for the periods Tactics
Determination of earnings for the periods to be obtained Tactics

The process will be carried out for a period of strategic actions gorunuyu table as reflected in the consistent implementation of each of these sub-systems have been described. The description of the implementation of strategic activities or the provision was functional model. The object of the study timetable for industrial enterprises manufacturing facilities reflects the strategic system. The rise in production is due to the performance of the organization. In other words, the product allow for sustainable productivity in the enterpriseHave a much larger volume of the economic efficiency of the organization manifests itself as a major factor affecting performance. However, before you start to function and mechanism of forming apparatus stands as an important issue in the future.

We have noted that the object subject to the effects of the strategic management process operating system. Such tools are considered to be the conventional implementation of the strategic management process productive. This type of formulation and its possible impact on the management of the office and influence aspects of the creation and enrichment of onunstrateji condition. The following can be attributed to them.

1. Directory summing power.
2. Management structures of authority in the form of power transmission.
3. For successful implementation of the action məsuliyyətləndirilməsi board.

As we know the impact on the strategic management of the authority and power given to the Office of the Board and senior management. Management staff of the institution in charge of the higher level of activity in strategic management. At the beginning of his stops. Leaders should have the power to manage enterprise. But what is power, it is necessary for the administrative staff. At the top of the organizational structure of enterprises and organizations of strategic management system, which is performed by the management apparatus. The government has the ability to influence people's behavior, the legal force. Use it to have the power and direction of the appropriate level of management is one of the key properties.

As we mentioned, the power to command, to execute, make decisions and spend the resources right. In fact, the government is the basis of the impacts. Because, without the influence of the organization, employees, or any person or group activities and relationships may not have the power to make changes. Such effects of the implementation of management functions to generate power.

Basbug's degree in management and share of power in the lower structures, according to the principles of sharing of management styles or forms are distinguished from each other. In this case, the power of management styles differ according to the degree of being. Management styles of management power mənsubolma and use it in the form. In other words, the extent to which the activities of the leaders of the government to use the power of government is defined by styles. It should be noted that fellow employees, the management team has the power. From this point we can mention that, in addition to the strategic

management of the organization down to the level of senior and middle management personnel can involve chains.

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MESTER

GENERAL ISSUE

Mester **is the academic journal published by the graduate students of the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, at the University of California, Los Angeles.** ***Mester*** **is dedicated to publishing academic work that reflects the highest level of scholarship such as critical articles, interviews, and book reviews in the fields of Spanish, Portuguese, Spanish American, Brazilian, and Chicano/a Literature, as well as Spanish and Portuguese linguistics.**

2018
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Los Angeles , CA 90095-1532
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MESTER, UNIV CALIFORNIA, ISSN: 0160-2764, UNITED STATES

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